1: Tocantins--62 C-5 (1875) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

648 The Minister of Agriculture, in an order dated December 22,
787 1876, excused Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva from his duties as head of the Mission of Bacabal; at the same time, immediate and equitable measures were taken to maintain the Mission and to serve as vigorously as heretofore the cause of christianization in those remote parts.

XXV

Trade between the hucksters and the Indians of the Upper Tapajoz.

643 The bitter fight waged between the leading citizens of the
787 Itaituba District and the missionary of Bacabal had no other cause
439 than the Indian trade.

I refer here to those Indians who live at the Mission of Bacabal and at other points of the Upper Tapajoz riverbanks, and
[184] not to the Mundurucu of the central villages, such as Necodemos and others, which are called villages of the plains.

The latter, who are truly savage, carry out no trade whatever, and indeed appear to avoid contact with both missionaries and petty tradesmen.

The missionary of Bacabal held the combined functions of director of the settlement, head steward, schoolmaster to both male and female pupils, and parson. He was not eager to obtain assistants from the government to help him in his various tasks, and kept the Mission totally isolated from any contact with the inhabitants of the district and especially with the hucksters. [146]

All the Indian trade in Bacabal was carried out through him directly with the Pará market, and he gave no account whatever of these transactions to the government.

We shall now endeavor to provide a general idea of the manner in which trade is carried out on the Upper Tapajoz.

The district of Itaituba, which stretches beyond the Mission of Bacabal to the borders of Mato Grosso, is one of the richest in natural resources in the valley of the Amazon.

1: Tocantins--63 C-5 (1875) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Mawe SQ12

It produces excellent rubber in large quantities, and the provinces of Pará and Amazonas owe the rapid development of their export and import trade to this commodity.

Rubber sells on the Pará market for $1.50 to $2.00 a kilogram; the Tapajoz alone yearly exports some 150,000 kilograms of it, and this amount would be larger if there were sufficient manpower to gather all the natural resources of the soil. The district also produces guaraná, a highly precious commodity of acknowledged medicinal worth.

The Maué Indians alone cultivate this plant and prepare the product, which they usually make into cylindrical loaves, sometimes, however, they mold it into the shape of animals native to the region, such as tapir, snakes, turtles and others, lending to this task considerable intelligence and artistic taste.

Guaraná sells on the Pará market for $4 to $5 a kilogram; and in Mato Grosso, where it is in great demand, the price is four times higher.

Each crew member of the canoes that sail in those parts takes a guaraná decoction every morning and even several times a day as a fever preventive. The results are positive.

The district also furnishes copaiba oil, sarsaparilla, [147] and other natural products which are priced high and esteemed greatly on all markets.

On this very day I find the following notice in a reputable newspaper of the capital of Pará [Belém]:

"Indians -- Sixteen Mundurucu Indians from the Mission of Bacabal, accompanied by their chief, have arrived in this capital to appear before the Presidency and to promote the sale of 292 arrobas (over 4,000 kilograms) of rubber.

"The chief's attire and the face paintings of these Indians have attracted public curiosity."

Commerce on the Upper Tapajoz is carried out by tradesmen known as regatões [hucksters or traders], who appear in those parts in small canoes loaded with goods during the summer months and the rubber harvest. Navigation through the falls is difficult and risky; it is often necessary to unload the canoe and carry the burden on land for several kilometers; then the canoe in turn has to be carried and reloaded; and farther on the whole procedure

is repeated, with the additional danger of foundering on one of the innumerable rocks which obstruct the course of the stream. To this must be added privations, fevers, and possible attack by fierce Indians such as the Parintintin. Some of these peddlers, setting out from Itaituba, course upriver through the region for a month and sometimes two.

They find no one to trade with but the Mundurucu and a few Maué savages, who go naked or nearly naked, who have not the slightest notion of our language, of our alphabet, of our system of weights and measures, or of the current price of the goods they sell and the commodities they purchase.

Incredible as it may seem, the traders sell on credit [146] to savages who own no capital other than a hatchet to bleed the rubber trees, commodities which add up on running accounts to such enormous figures as 5, 6 or 7,000,000 reis or even more! Possibly every Indian in those parts is indebted to a considerable extent. When asked how much they owe, these Indians always reply: "Who knows! Only the patron can tell!" They always call their creditor "patron" [patrão].

The trader, himself a creditor [sic], regards his Indian debtors as serfs: as best suits his needs, he sends them into the forest to gather rubber, forbidding them expressly to sell it to other traders; or makes them paddle his canoe; or takes them to his home when the harvest is over and puts them to work under his very eyes. He carries this odious exploitation practically to the point of slavery: denies them the right to go where they wish; and if by chance they secretly run away, he sets out after them and captures them by sheer force.

Many cultivators also have a certain number of Indians at their service and under their rule. I have seen many of these savages -- men, women and children -- forcibly retained in the homes of cultivators. When one of these creditors passes away, the Indian moves to the home of whoever happens to inherit his share of the debt. Once on the Upper Tapajoz I asked to whom an Indian "belonged" who interested me, and got the following reply: "We don't know yet, because the household of his former master, who died a short time ago, has not yet been parcelled out."

1: Tocantins--65 C-5 (1879) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva, who called those wretched Indians to the Mission in large numbers, used to tell them: "My sons, you owe nothing to these illicit tradesmen; from [149] now on, work only for yourselves, for your wives and for your children."

XXVI

Trade between the Indians and the traders -- Strange and fabulous running accounts.

The missionary of Bacabal showed me several running accounts made out to the Indians by the peddlers, in which the former always owed the latter very large sums of money.

We will reproduce below the running account between the petty tradesman Manoel Quirino Paes and the Indian chief Joaquim Correia Piampé. Then we will outline the same running account, figured out in terms of cash and listing the respective prices.

This will demonstrate that even if we assume an honest and exact listing of the commodities sold as to quantity and quality, and of the rubber purchased as to weight, the goods were dealt out to the Indian at 400 per cent of their cost value.

There follows another running account, indicating that the chief José Francisco owes the trader Jose Domingos de Oliveira the tremendous sum of 6, 876, 282 reis!

It looks like a transaction between two wealthy parties; yet José Domingos de Oliveira is but a poor trader living in a simple hut on the banks of the Upper Tapajos, and the chief José Francisco is a half-naked and illiterate savage. [150]

RUNNING ACCOUNT

"The chief Joaquim Corrêa Piampé owes Manoel Quirino Paes to March 28th:

2 cuts thick americano, 80 yards	5 arrobas rubber
2 cuts strong gingham [riscado], 80 yards	5 "

1: Tocantins--66 C-6 (1870) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

431	1 cut plaid gingham, 35 yards	1 arrobas and a half
	4 cuts fine broad gingham, 80 yards	4 arrobas
	2 cuts handkerchiefs	1 "
	10 alqueires salt	6 "
	2 barrels gunpowder, 50 lb.; 3 arrobas lead	10 "
	8 flasks [frasqueiras] cachaça, with large bottle	10 "
	6 thousand percussion caps [espoletas]	2 "
	1 box soap, 42 lb.	1 "
	1 lb. balls of thread	1/2 "
	5 firearms	5 "
	1 fine black hat	3 "
	2 doz. American hatchets [terçados]	7 "
	1 doz. American axes [terçados grandes]	3 "
	9 strike-a-lights [isqueiros] with flintlock [fuzil]	1 " & 4 lb.
	100 gunflints [pedernciras de fogo]	11 " & 8 lb.
	4 cutlasses [facas Paraga]	2 arrobas
	Balance on 1870 account	11 "
	Total	76 1/2 arrobas

"On February 16, 1872, I received twenty-five arrobas of rubber, two arrobas of sernamby and five arrobas of pitch. This leaves [?] fifty arrobas."

To provide a clearer idea of this transaction, we will now outline the same running account, but in terms of our currency and of the prices current on the Para market in the year when the transaction was carried out.

This shows that the goods were sold to the Indian at more than 400 per cent of their cost value. [151]

COMMODITIES SOLD IN EXCHANGE FOR RUBBER	RUBBER TO BE RECEIVED							
	Cost*	Total	Plus 100%	Against	@	lb.	Price	Total
2 cuts genuine thick americano, 80 yards	$ 440	$35,200	$70,400	against	5	"	$25,000	$125,000
2 cuts genuine strong gingham [riscado], 80 yards	660	52,800	105,600	"	5	"	"	125,000
1 cut genuine strong gingham, 80 yards	280	9,100	18,200	"	1	10	"	23,814
4 cuts broad gingham, 65 yards	400	34,000	68,000	"	4	"	"	100,000
2 cuts handkerchiefs	5,000	10,000	20,000	"	1	"	"	25,000
10 alqueires salt	1,600	16,000	32,000	"	6	"	"	150,000
2 barrels with 50 lb. gunpowder	1,000	50,000	100,000	"	10	"	"	250,000
3 arrobas lead	4,400	13,200	26,400					
6 flasks [frasqueiras] cachaça, with large bottle	6,000	48,000	96,000	"	10	"	"	250,000
6 thousand percussion caps [espoletas]	1,000	6,000	12,000	"	2	"	"	50,000
1 box soap (42 lb.)	400	16,800	33,600	"	1	"	"	225,000
1 lb. balls of thread	1,500	1,500	3,000	"		16	"	12,500
5 second-rate guns	15,000	75,000	150,000	"	5	"	"	125,000

(continued)

RUBBER TO BE RECEIVED

COMMODITIES SOLD IN EXCHANGE FOR RUBBER	Cost*	Total	Plus 100%	Against	@	lb.	Price	Total
6 [sic] fine black hats	$ 4,000	$24,000	$ 48,000	"	3	"	$25,000	$ 75,000
2 dz. genuine American hatchets [tercados]	25,000	50,000	100,000	"	7	"	"	175,000
1 dz. genuine large axes		22,000	64,000	"	3	"	"	75,000
9 strike-a-lights [isqueiros] with flintlocks [fusil]		4,000	8,000	"	1	4	"	28,124
100 gunlints [pedernieras]		2,000	4,000	"		8	"	6,250
4 cutlasses [facas Pompa]	500	2,000	4,000	"		20	"	15,624
		$481,600	$963,200		65	26		$1,645,312

*In rein

He balanced the old account, and credited the current account as follows:

9 arrobas rubber at $25,000	$225,000	
2 arrobas sernamby at $16,000	32,000	
5 arrobas pinch at $2,000	10,000	267,000
		1,378,312

Transcribed by C-5 (1977) SQ13 Members SQ13

1: Tocantins--69 C-5 (1870) 1877 SQ13 Manduruca SQ13

[182]

ANOTHER RUNNING ACCOUNT

Chief José Francisco da Boa-Vista has bought from José Domingos de Oliveira Bahia the following goods and

		OWES
Amount owed from August 11, 1870 to June 8, 1871		$3,986,815
June 9, 1871		
1 gun inxd		5,520
3 dz. lead spoons	$ 1,600	4,800
24 copper graters	1,325	31,800
16 fine small scissors	550	8,800
1 25-lb. barrel gunpowder	1,980	49,500
1/2 arroba lead	10,830	16,245
2 gallons kerosene	6,500	13,000
12 bunches [masso] coral	1,000	12,000
13 bunches [masso] fine white glass beads	520	6,760
6 flasks [frasqueiras] cachaça	13,320	73,920
12 American hatchets [terçados]		56,207
2 three-span trunks	12,000	24,000
2 boxes soap with 90 lb.	360	32,400
1/2 arrobas sugar	12,000	18,000
1/2 arrobas aged coffee [? café velho]		9,525
2 containers Philantropico ointment	19,000	3,800
2 containers Bristol sarsaparilla	400	2,800
2 containers Opodeldocc	1,200	2,400
1 bottle sweet almond oil	5,480	10,960
8 1/3 covados scarlet baize	800	1,600
1 box Altona ginger		13,500
6 fine felt hats	5,000	30,000
6 stone cups [copos de pedra]		3,000
120 gunflints [pederneiras]	1,600	2,400
5 alqueires salt in bags	5,000	25,000
2 arrobas rice	7,680	15,360

ONÇS

434 June 9, 1871 (continued)		
20 touchholes for firearms	$ 300	$ 4,000
2 bundles tobacco, or rather one 4-lb. bundle	7,000	14,000
100 nails [pregos meio forros]		1,540
4 cans small soda biscuits	1,500	6,000
2 American axes	3,700	7,400
March 23, 1871		
12 lb. soap	400	4,800
1/2 gross buttons		600
2 alqueires salt	5,000	10,000
June 9, 1871 [sic]		
10 fine firearms	28,000	280,000
2 cuts americano, recent make, 83 yards	656	54,448
[153] 2 cuts inglez, 68 yards	580	38,680
1 cut white dril, 42 1/2 yards	800	33,600
2 cuts broad dyed dril, with 80 yards	660	52,800
2 cuts narrow dyed dril, 80 yards	385	30,880
1 cut blue dril, 42 yards	127	50,694
1 cut thick gingham [riscadão Francisco], 34 yards	1,100	37,400
1 cut strong, superior gingham, 39 yards	1,225	47,770
1 cut blue chintz [rapão], 41 yards	332	35,212
2 cuts thick plaid gingham, 70 yards	450	31,500
1 cut thick blue and white gingham, 34 yards	450	13,525
3 cuts superior quality [sic], 72 yards	500	3,600
2 cuts fine color print calico [chitas], 7 1/2 covados	480	35,680

		OMISSIONS
June 9, 1871 [sic] (cont'd)		
2 cuts of same, purple 74 covados & 2/3	$ 400	$29,783
2 cuts of same, blue, 74 covados & 2/3	400	29,783
2 cuts of same, scarlet, 74 covados & 2/3	4,900	35,690
6 cut-out drill trousers	3,620	21,720
3 pairs fine color handkerchiefs	6,600	17,800
1 large saw		6,000
1 dz. large cutlasses [facas Pampa]	9,530	28,590
2 dz. high rubber [-tapping?] combs, no. 32 [pentes de seringa]	2,950	41,900
2 lb. small balls of thread	2,900	5,800
1 dz. small spools of thread	600	1,800
2000 anias	2,100	4,200
24 cuts color clastros	1,920	3,840
3 gross shirt buttons	400	1,200
6 gross marking tags [marca]	400	2,400
1 lb. fishing line	2,900	19,600
July 16, 1871		
5 thousand percussion caps [espoletas]	2,400	12,000
4 dz. itasumbas	1,600	6,400
2 cuts fine color print calico [chitas], 74? 2/3 covados	400	29,600
2 cuts americano, recent make, 83 yards	750	62,250
3 cuts of same, wide, dyed, 6 yards	580	34,800
16 containers ointments	450	7,200
2 flasks vinegar	1,800	3,600
6 flasks red wine	3,600	19,200
4 dz. bowls	3,500	14,000
6 pair drinking cups	920	7,920

		OWES
July 16, 1871 (continued)		
1 flask [frasqueira] cachaça		$13,200
1 dz. fine white dishes		2,300
4 bottles Florida water	$ 1,700	6,800
October 2, 1871		
300 nails [pregos de ferro]		12,000
2 flasks [frasqueiras] cachaça	13,200	26,400
1 cut genuine americano trançado 42 yards	990	41,580
2 bottles liquor	1,200	2,400
[154] 1 dz. large cutlasses [facas Pampa]	11,040	11,740
Money you asked me		4,000
1 skein guitar string		500
24 copper grazers	13,200	26,400
1 bundle tobacco		12,000
16 lb. sugar	220	5,760
December 2, 1871		
1 thousand percussion caps [capoletas]		1,500
March 2, 1872		
1/2 flask [frasqueira] cachaça		6,600
1 bundle tobacco		10,000
Sum I paid to Paulo Christo		41,040
Plus 10% of said [?] amount		84,144
Total		$6,876,282

CREDIT

3 arrobas sernamby	$ 800	$ 24,000
65 arrobas fine rubber, shipped to the capital at your own risk and expense [?]		

Acu-coara, March 9, 1872

José Domingos de Oliveira Bahia

[77] S.T. they
[81] do have one curious custom in common with their neighbors the Mawes. They expose their daughters to continuous fasting and to the smoke in the gable of the hut when the latter pass from childhood to womanhood.

[94] In agriculture the Mundrucus have an advantage over others only
[64] in so much as the power of their numerous and warlike tribe (I heard a figure of 18,000 given and even one of 40,000) makes their plantations more secure; also the rather dense population make dependence on hunting and fishing alone undesirable. They grow some cotton and a great deal of manioc. The flour ground from manioc is packed in
[69] baskets and the wide leaves of palms, spice stalks [Würzstäbe] and heliconias and regularly sold to the mariners in Tapajos now that they have established friendly relations. In the area near the Brazilians
[96] each family lives by itself in a conical hut. Today these are often not built individually in isolated places throughout the forest but are grouped into villages. Those Indians not yet in a neighborhood of whites occupy large, open huts as a community of several families. But even in the
[72] mission I found near their houses the preserved heads of slain enemies and numerous skulls of larger game animals stuck up on poles. Everything about the appearance of these savages made it evident that they consider themselves mighty hunters and warriors and that they strive to maintain their hegemony in the area. To this their name has reference.
[10] It is from the Tupi language. Mundrucus, Mondorucus means either: "those who plunder together" (from monda "steal," ru "together," cu, co "plantation, property), or: "those who practice (ico) cutting off (mondoc)", that is to say cutting off heads. Moturicus, from moturum moteryc and ico, means: "the stealer, the thief [Mitschmer]." [391] Very widespread is the nickname Paiquiz, Paia-kyce, that is "Father Knife, Decapitator." Castelnau (III. 106) lists the Arupás as living among the Mundrucus on both banks of the Arinos, and they are probably identical with the Oropias already mentioned (p. 204, 383) who are also found on the Madeira river.

[76] Their military organization is begun in peacetime. Every man capable of bearing arms cuts a notch in a stick that is sent around and by this he pledges his participation in war. In wartime the chief has power of life and death over the individual. That they were in a state of war with the Apiacas was not told me. * For their attacks they

* The Picobyé (in Pöl. II. 183) or Paicobejé do not belong here but are a tribe belonging to the Macamecrans.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

304 Hartt and Martius both mention tattooing combs of palm thorns, but Tocantins states that the operation is performed with an agouti tooth. The skin is slashed and genipa juice is rubbed into the wound. Genipa is also [301] used as a paint to color areas enclosed by tattooed lines. Both sexes are tattooed but there are slight differences in design for each. The operation begins when the subject is about 8 years old and proceeds gradually over a period of years. It is seldom completed before the subject has reached the age of 20.

302 **Hairdress.**—The aboriginal hair style was the same for both sexes. The hair was cut just above the ears and at the nape of the neck. The crown of the head was shaved but a short, circular tuft was left above the center of the forehead.

MANUFACTURES

283 285 **Baskets, ropes, and netting.**—Baskets are woven of creepers, straw, and twigs. Ropes and cords are made of plant fibers and cotton thread. Women beat the raw cotton with sticks to separate the fibers and twist the thread with the aid of some sort of spindle. Cotton thread is used in [286] knitting net fabrics for featherwork, and in making hammocks. Fibers from the outer surface of murici palm leaves are sometimes used in making hammocks.

323 **Ceramics.**—Pottery vessels, made by women, are modeled directly from a mass of clay and are said to be of poor quality.

411 **Weapons.**—The following weapons have been mentioned but not described: Bows, arrows of reed and of wood, poisoned war arrows, unpoisoned hunting arrows (Martius, 1867), spears with bamboo blades, javelins, wooden knives, hafted (stone?) axes, and war clubs. A cotton bandage was wrapped around the knuckles of the bow hand to protect it from the bowstring. Katzer (1901) has published illustrations of a [172] number of flat, polished stone ax heads, of oval or nearly quadrangular shape, with lateral notches; these were found archeologically in *Mundurucú* territory. He reports that the *Mundurucú* still make such stone [324] objects, but keep them merely as valuables or as children's toys.

TRADE

439 Despite hostility between the *Mundurucú* and their neighbors, they traded their featherwork extensively. They are said to have depended on an unidentified northern source for arrow poison. After the advent of the missions, manioc meal, sarsaparilla, and other forest products were exported to Santarém in considerable quantities (Martius, 1867).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 616 According to Kruse (1934), the Tapajóz River *Mundurucú* have a patrilineal sib and moiety system. There are 34 sibs whose members are

6: Murphy Σ-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tion imposed by environmental factors. The result would be a new pattern of single lineage villages which formed parts of nonlocalized clans. During the passage of time and with further population increase, these local lineages became differentiated as subclans and finally as clans having only a phratric affiliation with the parent clan. This budding process and the creation of new clans is reflected by the sharing of trumpet spirit 'companions', surmising that the offspring clans kept the trumpet 'companion' of the parent group.

If the clan-community was the immediate precontact and prematrilocal stage of Munduruci society—the one observed by Martius—then the men's house was already an established institution among the Munduruci. It may have been different, however, from the men's house of the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, for Martius (1867:113) describes it as being inhabited only by young warriors and newly-wed men. Assuming, as seems logical, that the young warriors referred to were unmarried village men and the bridegrooms were men in the period of bride service, the moiety division of the men's house must already have been in existence, since the clan-community is by definition exogamous. Murdock suggests (1954) that the Munduruci moiety system must have considerable antiquity due to the existence of moieties in neighboring Tupi-Cawahib groups. The practices of cross-cousin and sister's daughter marriage certainly provide the underlying structure of Munduruci moieties.

It is possible, although there are no supporting data, that population expansion and the resultant fission of clans had resulted in the joining of several splinter groups into multilineal communities in the period previous to contact with the whites. While admitting the possibility, this stage is unnecessary to the present reconstruction, and it will be assumed that the clan-community persisted until matrilocal influences caused its disappearance and its replacement by the type of social structure already described for the Munduruci of the mid-nineteenth century.

During the early nineteenth century, the Munduruci made the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality, due probably to economic pressures which increased the importance of maintaining the integrity and continuity of the female, household work-group.[6] This influence was probably brought about by the growing trade with Brazilians in manioc flour and a consequent increase in agricultural production.

The shift to matrilocality was probably accomplished with little serious stress. The groom simply remained in the men's house of his bride's village and the practice of eventually moving to the house of the husband's family disappeared. During the course of the shift in residence patterns, certain fundamental changes in Munduruci social organization appeared. Granting the accuracy of Martius' statement that the men's house was inhabited only by young warriors and newly-weds, those men who remained permanently matrilocal continued the aboriginal pattern of residence in the men's house during the bride service period and remained there throughout life or at least for the duration of the marriage. Also, since the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality must have taken place over a period of time and did not affect all men simultaneously, the village came to be inhabited by men of both moieties and several clans. The result is

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCÚ

The Mundurucú, a Tupian speaking people, are presently located in a region of mixed forest and savannah east of the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, between the sixth and eighth degrees of south latitude. Highly acculturated and almost assimilated remnants of the tribe are also found on the Secundurí, Abacaxí and Maués Rivers in the adjoining state of Amazonas. The Mundurucú were first reported upon in the latter region in 1768 (Monteiro Noronha, 1862). Their military strength was rapidly impressed upon the colonists of the Amazon Valley, for they commenced a series of strong attacks upon forts along the Amazon River that continued until the colonial government retaliated and in 1795 struck at the Mundurucú homeland on the upper Tapajós River. There is no information on the impact of this attack on the Mundurucú, but they ceased raiding white settlements immediately thereafter and in time became active allies of the colonists and the Portuguese colonial government. So rapidly did the Mundurucú adapt to the whites that by 1817 Ayres do Casal (1817:237) wrote, "Nearly all of the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies, and some already are Christians." But the Mundurucú had by no means become pacific, and raids, often instigated by the whites, were pushed with unabated fury against other Indian tribes.

Shortly after their contact with the white colonists, segments of the Mundurucú were evidently in the process of migrating northward along the Tapajós River and into the country between the Tapajós and Madeira Rivers. The Mundurucú who settled in these more northerly regions soon became assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. Missions and mission-sponsored reductions were established in their midst at several locales, and their inhabitants intermarried with the Portuguese and mestizo colonists. The population of these Indian reductions declined throughout the century; Coudreau (1897:8) states that the old Mundurucú reduction of Ucitubá had 485 Indians in 1833, 343 in 1848, 100 in 1869 and only 50 in 1895. Others, such as Boim and Itaituba, lost their Indian character and became Brazilian towns. By 1885 the process had advanced so far that Charles F. Hartt (1885:117) noted: "The Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in large part been lost."

The balance of the tribe, which remained south, or upstream, of the head of navigation of the Tapajós River, maintained relative autonomy. They conducted trade, at first in manioc flour and later in raw latex, with Brazilian traders who seasonally ascended the river, but no permanent Brazilian settlements were located above the Cachoeira de Maranhão, a series of impassable rapids. At the end of the century, however, the boom in rubber extraction attracted permanent trading posts to the upper Tapajós River, and a Catholic mission was established on the banks of the river.

The rubber boom terminated the isolation of the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós. The population became involved in rubber production for barter, and, although the new economic pursuit did not seriously hamper their tradi-

?: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Munduruc SQ13

tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the continuing warfare formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Munduruc had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Munduruc warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Munduruc culture during this period.

The Munduruc villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savannahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Munduruc and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Munduruc social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Munduruc village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Munduruc were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the whites with some pride, but viewed their efforts as civilizing missions against the "savage Indians," or "Indians of the forest." Their attitude was clearly that they did what had to be done and had always been done; the motivation was secondary.

It is impossible to determine what proportion of Mundurucú warfare in the last century was instigated by the whites, but it is clear that many, and probably most, raids were conducted against groups having no enmity or even contact with Brazilian society. It is evident that the Mundurucú did not remain warlike solely for reasons of material gain, but mercenary service did serve to encourage the perpetuation of a deeply rooted pattern. Whether or not economic and ecological conditions stimulated warfare in the preceding century is difficult to ascertain. It is known that the area of Mundurucú occupation expanded northward in the late 18th and early 19th centuries into regions formerly inhabited by other groups. While the Mundurucú moved into a vacuum that they had helped to create, it is almost certain that assimilation and depopulation due to disease had decimated the ranks of the previous occupants far more than had Mundurucú arms, and the population of the latter was already on the wane. Additional territory was hardly the goal of the migrant Mundurucú; the lure of manufactured articles available through trade with the white settlements offers a more adequate explanation of their northward drift to the lower Madeira and Tapajós Rivers.

The secondary nature of economic goals in Mundurucú warfare is even more manifest when looting is considered. No objects of significant economic value were taken, and the raiders maintained their mobility by traveling light. Captive children were a far more important class of booty than were material items. Captive-taking was a means of strengthening the group through the addition of new members, but it is not certain whether the increment compensated for the loss of mature warriors and their female followers. If, however, one accepts intense warfare as a given factor, the capture of children was important to its successful continuance. Moreover, the Mundurucú valued and desired children, and the captives were treated as the captor's own.

The Mundurucú warrior was strongly motivated by the desire to achieve prestige through the demonstration of valor, especially as signified by the taking of a trophy head. The Dajeboiki was subjected to very onerous restrictions, but he was rewarded by the lifetime respect of his fellowmen. However, if he was to maintain his position and advance to the high status of a Muchacha, it was expected that he would also become a font of traditional lore and songs. Prestige was not openly asserted among the Mundurucú, and the tone of the society was strongly egalitarian. Decision-making was decentralized and informal and joint activity depended upon the consensus of the participants, but the successful headhunter exerted considerable influence in the attainment of such consensus—albeit through subdued means.

Despite the fact that individual wars were undertaken because of the desire of the participants to gain prestige, it would be most dubious to admit this as a fundamental cause of warfare. It seems almost a truism to say that

unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack. 593

Marital break-ups caused no great social maladjustment. The woman and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the men's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the sexual division of labor operated mainly within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family. [586] [462]

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú was not patterned by warm and cold seasons as in Labrador, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each projected garden were felled by a work party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low waters and where they could hunt the many game animals which left the interior forests to feed and drink at the streams. 221 241 [224 226]

After two to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains wet the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and who was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of maturation was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the prussic acid was extracted by use of the tipiti, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native beiju, a flat manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family households, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient. 252 [439]

Farinha was thus a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the household in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village, and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households. 476 439 [423]

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the mode in which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Mundurucú along with larger amounts of other produce: 439

> "They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of manioca, and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajos to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
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also gather large quantities of salsaparilla, india-rubber and Tonka beans, in the forests. The traders on their arrival at the Campinas (the scantily-wooded region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucus beyond the cataracts) have first to distribute their wares--cheap cotton cloths, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cashaça--amongst the minor chiefs, and then wait three or four months for repayment in produce". [1863, pp. 243-244]

When rubber became the major product of Amazonia the same pattern of trade was perpetuated among the Mundurucu. All of the rubber collected was turned over to the chief, who alone negotiated directly with the trader. The merchandise given for the rubber was, insofar as could be ascertained through contemporary informants, equitably distributed to each man in proportion to the rubber he had produced. But since chiefs were commonly more prosperous than other men, it can be assumed that they did not suffer in their role of middleman. The share taken by the chief, however, was never so great as to result in truly significant wealth differences. In fact, the traders usually managed to keep the Indians in debt, and this debt was charged against the chief as the representative of the village. Tocantins, who visited the Mundurucú in 1875, published a bill presented to one chief [Tocantins, p. 154]. If this bill is typical, the Indians' indebtedness was frequently very heavy. These debts were used to force the chief to extract greater production from his followers.

As the Mundurucu depended increasingly upon trade, the chief became more subordinate economically to the trader, who manipulated him accordingly. The trader eventually was able to appoint "chiefs" to carry on the trade. An appointed chief was usually known as the capitao, or "captain", as distinguished from the hereditary village chief, who was called aipocecucat or ichengop. By using the "captains" as local trade representatives, the traders were able to increase their control over the villages. At the same time, by robbing the hereditary chiefs of their trade function, they weakened the entire structure of leadership. In time, the capitao displaced the hereditary chief almost entirely. To increase the prestige of the trader-appointed chief, the trader often took his protegé on his annual trip to buy supplies in Belem, where the chief's position was confirmed by the governor or some other official.

The Mundurucú dependency upon trade at first evidently increased the peacetime authority of the hereditary chief, for the villagers relied upon him to promote and secure their best interests in trading activities. The appointment of capitaes undermined the native chief, and initially increased the trader's control over the village. The people became confused, however, as to whether the capitao or the aipocecucat should be regarded as "chief". Ill feeling towards and suspicion of the appointed chiefs began to develop, for the Indians were always aware of, although powerless to cope with, the sharp practices of the traders, and they usually assigned the capitao a share of the blame. Upon the latter fell the onerous task of goading the people to harder work in the rubber avenues. Since most Mundurucú do not even today consider rubber collecting a congenial occupation, the role of the capitao must have done little to increase his popularity. During the field research among the Mundurucú, the young, bilingual trader-appointed "chief" of the village of Cabituté was in danger of losing his life. Distrust of the trader, whom the "chief" represented, was centered upon this young man and threatened his position so greatly that he was on the verge of flight.

In later years, as will be described subsequently, individual Mundurucú Indians have tended increasingly to deal with the trader directly rather than through the "chief". For this reason, village political organization has been effectively shattered.

The white-appointed Mundurucú "chief", unlike his Northeastern Algonkian counterpart, mediated trade relations between a group of followers and the

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
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whites. After individual trading had become strongly established among one section of the Mundurucu, however, "chiefs" were chosen by the Indian Agent and by missionaries in order to control the general behavior of the Indians, and not specifically for commercial purposes. This more nearly approximates the modern Montagnais situation, although it was reached through a different sequence of functional roles and from a different aboriginal base. In both cases, the Indians themselves were very conscious that these men were not genuine chiefs in terms of aboriginal leadership patterns, and both groups apparently suspected that the white-recognized chief was promoting the interests of the white men rather than those of his own people. The new leadership patterns never became fully established. While these patterns were functional in terms of white-Indian relations, they were dysfunctional in terms of the native socio-cultural structure.

Among the Mundurucu, therefore, the integrity of the local socio-political groups was, in part, temporarily maintained by a change in the functional role of the chieftain. That the changed pattern of leadership eventually became dysfunctional resulted in part from the ecological adaptations necessary to rubber collection. These adaptations, however, did far more than contribute to the disintegration of political controls. They undercut the very economic basis of village life.

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Hevea brasiliensis, the native and most common specie of rubber tree, grows wild throughout the upper waters of the Amazon. It can be exploited only during the dry season, and, in the upper Tapajós River valley, the maximum length of the gathering season is from May to early December, approximately seven months. Since these trees are scattered throughout the low lands near the watercourses, they are reached by circuitous paths cut through the undergrowth. The spacing of the trees and the work involved in rubber collection generally limit the number of trees tapped daily by one man to one hundred and fifty or less. Some collectors improve their yield per tree by maintaining two or three separate avenues which they visit only every second or third day. The distribution of rubber trees is such that each avenue gives access to trees within an area of about three to five square miles. The actual size of this territory depends, of course, upon the density of the rubber trees. In some sections of the Amazon drainage wild rubber is more abundant than are others. One may travel ten to twenty miles on reaches of river where rubber is sparse without passing a single habitation, but, where rubber is more plentiful, one encounters houses at intervals of a mile or even a half-mile.

The rubber tapper must work in his avenue or avenues almost daily, and therefore must live near them. Since each tapper exploits a considerable tract of land, his physical remoteness from neighboring tappers is a matter of necessity. Thus, on the Tapajós River, which has a population of about 3,000 excluding the Mundurucu, there are only two Brazilian villages of any consequence. One of these has a population of about 700, and the other has only 150 people. The other settlements are merely hamlets consisting of a trading post and from two to seven houses. The majority of the population live in isolated houses on the river banks.

[36]

The exploitation of wild rubber is a solitary, individual occupation in that the tapping of the tree, the subsequent collection of the latex, and the final coagulation process are one-man jobs. The last phase, carried out at the end of the day, consists of solidifying the latex over a smoky fire. The simplicity and the daily time-schedule of the entire rubber process in Amazonia is such that no one can profitably leave off collection to specialize only in tapping or collection or coagulation. For similar reasons, two men do not work in the same avenue. However companionable, it would not be a practicable means of increasing production.

This brief account of how wild rubber is exploited is necessary to an understanding of changes in Mundurucu society. In the earlier contact period, the

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439 Munduruc̃u traded chiefly in manioc flour and wild products, and rubber was of secondary importance. Chandless' observation [1862, p. 277] that in 1860 the Munduruc̃u of the upper Tapajós "trade in salsa and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers" indicates that important trade in articles other than rubber continued at least until 1860. Shortly after this date, however, the tempo of rubber extraction in the Amazon quickened, and in 1875, as Tocantins' account shows [1877, pp. 151-154], rubber was the most important Munduruc̃u product.

177 439 With the advent of the rubber trade, Munduruc̃u acculturation entered its second stage. During the first, when trade in manioc flour and certain wild products predominated, the hereditary chief mediated between the traders and his people, aboriginal social patterns were largely unchanged, and warfare was still vigorously prosecuted, frequently under the sponsorship of traders and colonial authorities. During the second stage, which lasted until 1914, warfare abated, the size of villages decreased owing to migration and European-introduced diseases, and the position of the hereditary chief was weakened by the imposition of appointed "chiefs". The period was characterized by a "loosening" of integration rather than by a change in mode of integration, or structure.

221 314 [171] Work in the rubber avenues in the latter half of the nineteenth century did not upset the annual subsistence cycle as much as might be expected. Whereas many people had formerly left their villages during the dry season to hunt and fish along the streams, they now left to collect rubber. As in times past, they cleared their garden sites before leaving and returned to the village in time to burn them over and plant. The necessity to provide all their own subsistence limited the rubber producing season to three months, mid-June to mid-September, out of a possible seven. This parallels closely the earlier phases of Northeastern Algonkian fur production, when the Indian's need to obtain their own meat supply by aboriginal cooperative techniques limited fur production and conflicted with their increasing desire for Western manufactures [Leacock 1954, pp. 25-26].

439 177 [224] During the nineteenth century (and to the present day) the Munduruc̃u, like the Algonkians and in fact most aborigines, had been acquiring a seemingly insatiable appetite for the utilitarian wares and trinkets of civilization. Firearms increased their efficiency in warfare and hunting, especially the individual hunting carried on during the rubber season when one or two families lived in isolation adjacent to their rubber trees. In communal hunts, the game could be surrounded and the range and velocity of the weapons were not so crucial to success. Other items, too, became necessities to the Munduruc̃u. Contrary to popular belief that nudity is beneficial to tropical peoples, there are various reasons why clothing is desirable in the Amazon. Insect stings greatly annoy the Indians, and at night the temperature drops to from 55° to 65° F. Clothing, [291] however, is expensive, and only in recent years has it been used consistently in some Munduruc̃u villages. The movement toward covering the body entailed the development within two generations of a sense of shame comparable to that of Europeans. The Munduruc̃u, especially the women, have also acquired a desire for finery for the sake of display. They have also developed a taste for many strictly non-utilitarian goods, such as the Brazilian raw cane rum and the beads and ornaments purveyed by the trader.

A full and adequate description of the growth of Munduruc̃u dependence upon trade would require a separate treatise, for reliance upon manufactured goods entailed further dependence upon many adjuncts of these goods. For example, fire- [415] arms required powder and lead, while garments of factory-woven cloth had to be 323 made and repaired with scissors, thread, and needles. The substitution of metal pots for native ones of clay and of manufactured hammocks for the native product has reached the point where many young women now do not know how to make these articles. The Munduruc̃u barely remember that their forebears used stone axes and bamboo knives, and they would be helpless without the copper toasting pan used to make manioc flour.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

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Despite the flourishing trade in gewgaws, the allure of most trade goods lay more in their sheer utility than in their exotic qualities. The increased efficiency of the Mundurucú economy made possible by steel tools must have been enormous.

The parallels in these basic processes of acculturation between the Mundurucú and the Montagnais are probably to be found also among most aborigines. In the case of the Mundurucú, the displacement of aboriginal crafts by commercial goods better suited to meet local needs, both old and new, inexorably led to increased dependency of the people upon those who furnished these goods and therefore to a greater involvement in economic patterns external to their own culture.

The Mundurucú families, like those of the Algonkians, became dependents of the trading posts. More than a century ago, Bates related that Brazilian traders made seasonal expeditions to trade with the Mundurucú. After rubber became important in the Amazon, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós River. These posts, whether owned by individuals or companies, exercised such control over tracts of rubber-producing forest that they compelled the rubber collector to trade exclusively with them. They accomplished this by their power of dispossession and by holding the collector in debt. The traders among the Mundurucú were never able to obtain title of ownership to the rubber regions within Mundurucú country proper,[2] but they made the Indians dependent upon them in a very real sense through their credit arrangements. In time, all of the Mundurucú villages came under the control of various traders, who were so influential by virtue of being necessary to the Indians that they were able to appoint the "chief", in violation of Indian tradition, and thereby intensified their control over the Indians.

The progressive weakening of the hereditary chief, whose authority was based upon aboriginal activities, was furthered by the decline in warfare. The post-white warfare, although frequently mercenary in character and auxiliary to Portuguese occupation and expansion, continued the native pattern of authority. The Indians were paid in trade goods. When, at the end of the nineteenth century, the central Amazon region had been pacified, the military help of the Mundurucú was no longer needed. Meanwhile, rubber collecting had become the principal means by which the Indians acquired foreign trade articles. Since the Indians were important to rubber production in labor-starved Amazonia, they were pushed to greater efforts by the traders. Increased devotion of the Mundurucú to rubber production correspondingly interfered with their warfare; for in earlier times the rubber season was the time for war. When in 1914 a Franciscan mission was established in their midst, the earlier political and economic basis of Mundurucú warfare was so undermined that the admonitions of the priests that they live in peace were quite effective.

At the end of the second stage of Mundurucú acculturation, only bonds of kinship and economic collectivity in producing food for the group held Mundurucú society together. Much of the old structure was gone. The chieftaincy had been undermined, warfare had ended, and reliance upon the outside economy was taking effect. During the nineteenth century, increasing numbers of Mundurucú who had difficulties with their co-residents were able to leave their villages permanently. Many others left in order to participate more fully in the rubber economy.

Full dependency upon rubber collection is not compatible with village life. Since the aboriginal Mundurucú villages were located several days foot travel from the rubber areas fringing the rivers, a family participating both in collective village life and the rubber economy had to migrate seasonally between its village and its house in the rubber area. Families living in this manner could spend only three to four months in rubber production. The only way the Indians can devote their full efforts to rubber tapping is to leave the villages of the interior savannah and live permanently near the rubber trees along the river banks. A large

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
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Mu 178 621 Mu [578]

to the disorganization of Cururú River society. The political authority of appointed "chiefs" was now a means of extending the influence of the whites. The continuing migration of young men from the remaining primitive villages of the savannahs caused an oversupply of men on the Cururú River, and conflicts over women became rife. Owing to the endless squabbles in villages which had lost their aboriginal basis of integration, dissidents moved off to live at their rubber avenues or formed new and smaller villages. This fission process is still going on. Concomitantly, the Mission and the Indian Post are becoming more important as focal points in a new mode of integration of the Mundurucu. Over one-third of the Cururú River population make their rainy season homes at these agencies, which serve as centers of trade and of social and religious gatherings. It is from the Post and Mission, also, that the lines of authority now radiate.

IV. Comparative Summary

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The accompanying table and chart present the major phases of acculturation in summary form, as abstracted from the historical continua. The basic acculturative factors in both cases exerted parallel influences, although the two societies were substantively different until the final culmination was reached. There were four causal factors common to each. First, both became involved in a mercantile, barter economy in which the collector of wild products was tied by bonds of debt and credit to particular merchants. Such involvement also occurred widely among native peoples who produced crops or livestock. This arrangement must be distinguished from cash transactions, in which, owing to the impersonality of money as a medium of exchange, the primary producer has greater freedom of choice as to with whom he will deal. In a pure credit-barter economy, all transactions are based on a personal relationship between the principals; the merchant must be able to rely upon the continued patronage of the primary producer whereby the latter liquidates past debts while assuming new ones. It seems to be a basic procedure that the pre-literate Indian is kept in debt by the trader. While the latter can manipulate accounts at will, and no doubt is frequently guilty of malfeasance, he usually allows the Indian to buy beyond his means. The debtor-producer is selling his future production, and the creditor will not extend payment unless assured of delivery. Where such an economy is found, it is common for merchants to refuse to deal with primary producers who are in debt to another merchant. This is a "gentleman's agreement" in the Amazon, although it is frequently violated by wandering traders. Second, the growing ties of dependency upon the traders are at the expense of collective bonds within the respective societies. Reliance upon individuals and institutions outside the native social system are intensified by a steady increase in demand and need for manufactured goods. This, as we have seen, goes beyond the mere initial allure of Western tools and ornaments. Luxuries soon became necessities--a process that can be found in our own culture. Third, while crude latex and animal furs are very unlike articles, they imply a common cultural-ecological adaptation. Both are natural products having a reliable occurrence in worthwhile quantity within an area which can be most efficiently exploited by one man. Both require conservation, for careless exploitation can seriously reduce the number of furbearing animals, or render rubber trees worthless. The producer has an incentive to maintain the productivity of his resources. Finally, both rubber trees and fur animals are sufficiently dispersed to require that persons exploiting them live or work at some distance from one another.

Mu Mo 171 177 439 [434] Mu Mo [433]

These factors of change were essentially the same among both Mundurucú and Montagnais, and they were introduced through contact with the outside world. Their initial effects upon the aboriginal cultures were somewhat dissimilar, owing to aboriginal differences between the two groups. Whereas the Mundurucú chief served at first as intermediary with the trader, this seems not to have been true of the Montagnais chief. Montagnais family heads, however, traded on behalf of their sons. For a short time, this pattern was followed by many

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[text continues on p. 349]

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
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Mundurucú (cont.)	Montagnais (cont.)
village held together only by weakening kin ties and sociability. Centripetal factors (e.g., sorcery, sexual rivalry) cause fission of these villages and results in B, below.	Emergence of a chief who serves as intermediary with Indian agents and missionaries. Nuclear family basic unit at all times of year. Trapper maintains and transmits right to a delimited hunting territory exploited only by his family.
B. Dispersal (follows upon 3 or 4A) Leadership no longer integrative. Individual trade undercuts kin obligations. Conflict with agricultural cycle resolved by moving to rubber avenue--family now in isolation except for trade bonds.	

Mundurucú during the period immediately after the Mundurucú chief had ceased to act as intermediary with the trader. After the breakdown of extended kinship bonds in both groups, individuals traded completely on their own.

The native kinship organization persisted longer among the Mundurucú than among the Montagnais, and this has been a factor in perpetuating village life today among the less acculturated Indians east of the Tapajós River. Aboriginal Mundurucú kinship structure was more extensive and socially integrative than that of the Montagnais. Moreover, the aboriginal production of subsistence crops survives even among Mundurucú families living in isolation in their rubber avenues. The Mundurucú still produce all their own subsistence, although there are some changes in emphasis, technique, and organization.

The Brazilian rubber tapper--the white man who has gone into the forest or the Indian of mixed blood who is completely acculturated and enmeshed in the mercantile economy--usually buys all his food from the trader and devotes the season when he could be growing his own food to tapping rubber or to working off his debt to the trader by performing personal services. At present, we know of only one case of a Mundurucu who bought most of his food, but we can confidently predict that, as the population becomes more acculturated toward dependency in all ways upon the larger society, an ever-increasing number will buy food. When they are no longer able to feed themselves by their own efforts, they will have effectively become caboclos, or neo-Brazilian backwoodsmen.

The acculturative factors operated in two somewhat different ways among both the Mundurucú and Montagnais. First, they created a succession of modifications in the native societies, which gradually converged toward typological identity in the final family level. Second, during this evolution of the total groups they produced deviant families which broke away from their fellow tribesmen to devote themselves entirely to tapping or trapping. It was not until the processes had nearly reached their culmination that the surviving but greatly modified native society began to disintegrate.

Among the Mundurucú the bonds of leadership and kinship had undergone a steady and slow attrition during one hundred years. The end of warfare had robbed Mundurucú culture of a great deal of its vitality, and the chief was reduced to a mere figurehead, manipulated by the trader and the religious and governmental agencies. Work in the rubber avenues and dependence upon the trader had served to sever and weaken ties within the society. At the final point of transition to isolated residence, and total divorce from traditional communal life, the Mundurucú were not much more closely integrated than the Montagnais.

554 to stand too far above his fellows. A
156 Mundurucú never boasted of his
577 achievements, nor would he compare himself to others. In fact, it is most difficult to elicit any sort of comparative evaluation of the moral worth of particular individuals from any Mundurucú.

439 The prevailing tone of Mundurucú
577 values is perpetuated in the modern trade situation, for Mundurucú do not
[441] make commercial transactions among themselves. Trade with whites is expected and sought, but those Mundurucú who conduct trade with their fellows as employees of the whites and on behalf of them are recognized to operate outside the ethical system and attract considerable antagonism. Thus, the modern economic ethic of the Mundurucú is colored by the same dualism as existed in their warrior period.

184 The duality of Mundurucú ethics
577 is closely associated with the institutional core or nexus of the culture. Hostility towards the outer world goes beyond mere distrust and suspicion; it is a positive assertion and celebration of the integrity and cohesiveness of the society. While acting as an escape-valve
[721] for intra-social aggressions, warfare served to produce tensions which, paradoxically, contributed towards maintaining balance in the social structure.
[754] Witchcraft may be said to have functioned in much the same way.

191 Manly virtues were esteemed in
577 Mundurucú culture, and hunting ability was valued second only to strength in war. Male unity in a hostile world was expressed in the semi-military or-

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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of the stream is wild and solitary. The jungle overhangs the water and only once in a great while does a tiny wattle-and-daub house, the home of a collector of wild rubber, appear in a small clearing. At even greater intervals, the launch passes or stops at little hamlets of three to six such houses, which form the trading centers of the scattered collector population.

Several days and barely 400 miles of this travel bring the voyager to the trading posts which conduct sporadic business with one segment of the Mundurucú population. There are a few such establishments, all situated on the Tapajós River near the mouths of its eastern tributaries, the Cadiriri, Cabitutú, and das Tropas. A number of Mundurucú villages are at the headwaters of the latter streams, and an occasional Indian, distinguished by tattooing, unusually ragged or ill-fitting clothing, and impassivity of facial expression can often be seen at the trading posts. Racially, the Mundurucú does not stand out sharply, for Caucasoid genes are as thoroughly distributed among the Indian population as are Indian genes among the local Brazilians.

If one wishes to reach the village of Cabruá, a typical Mundurucú community of the savannah lands east of the Tapajós, it is necessary to ascend the Cabitutú River in a canoe. After five days, or more during the rainy season, of dawn-to-dusk paddling, the port of the village is reached. This consists of a cleared stretch of river bank and a trail that leads to a house about 100 yards away. The house is usually occupied only during the dry season, when some residents of Cabruá go there to pass the summer in fishing and rubber collecting. To reach the village, one must walk a half-day overland from this point. A well-beaten trail leads from the valley of the Cabitutú and over a ridge, dipping down again to cross a small stream. It continues through the forest and then abruptly emerges onto a sun-scorched savannah. The journey is then near an end, and a few miles of slow but steady ascent through the grasslands and past isolated clumps of forest bring one to the village.

The majority of the Mundurucú now live on the banks of the larger streams of the area in order to have convenient access to the rubber trees that grow there. Only 300 Indians live in the contemporary savannah villages, but 700 reside on the Cururú River in contact with a Brazilian Indian Service post and a Roman Catholic mission staffed by Franciscan priests. Another 200, the most acculturated part of the population, live among the Brazilian population of the Tapajós River. But the region of mixed savannah and gallery forest east of the Tapajós River is their traditional habitat. Most of the events recounted in their mythology are believed to have occurred there, and this has been their homeland throughout the historic period and, according to Mundurucú tradition, since the creation of man.

The modern savannah communities have preserved traditional Mundurucú architecture and village plan to a greater extent than the riverine groups. Each has two to five dwelling houses and a men's house, arranged in a circle about a central plaza. But whereas the plazas formerly served as ceremonial and dance precincts and were kept free of weeds, they are now rank with underbush. And the houses are considerably smaller, reflecting the diminished population of the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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175 and was followed by others at Boim and Pinhel.[4] Spix and Martius visited the
797 Missão Nova de Monte Carmel on the Canomá River, another affluent of the Paraná Mirím, in 1819, and reported 1,000 Mundurucú under its control.[5] Baptism and catechization of the Indians proceeded apace with their increasing involvement with the whites, and by 1817 Ayres de Casal stated, "Almost all the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies and some already Christians."[6]

175 The missionaries were by no means the only whites having contact with the
439 Indians, nor was religious instruction the only way in which they were exposed to European culture. The Indians manufactured manioc flour and collected the wild products of the region and sold these articles to the missionaries and traders, who probably were in active competition for the labor and production of the Mundurucú. The influence of the missions weakened with the deterioration of their economic hold over the Indians, and the Mundurucú tended to drift into a single-family settlement pattern along the banks of the streams.[7] Today the Mundurucú of the Madeira River region are nearly assimilated, and those of the lower Tapajós are wholly so.

The bulk of the population, which remained in the area of the upper Tapajós River, experienced no such intensive contact. No missions were established above the great obstacle of the Cachoeira de Maranhão until 1872, and the area became settled by significant numbers of whites only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Before that period, the Mundurucú obtained the manufactured articles which they so avidly desired through mercenary warfare[8] and through the sale of surplus manioc flour and other products to traders who seasonally ascended the Tapajós River.[9] After about 1850, the upper Tapajós country was also penetrated by rubber collectors, to whom the Mundurucú frequently sold foodstuffs. The collectors traded with merchants in the growing town of Itaituba, below the head of navigation of the Tapajós, and returned each rainy season to the less isolated existence there. The contact of the Mundurucú with the Brazilians thus remained seasonal and sporadic.

By the 1870's, the commercial importance of rubber was growing rapidly; greater numbers of whites sought the product each year, and the Mundurucú were drawn increasingly into the extraction industry. The importance of the Indian population in the chronically labor-short Amazon region resulted in renewed efforts to attract or press greater numbers of them into commercial production. This problem and one solution of it were expressed in rather delicate and diplomatic terms by the Brazilian engineer, Antonio Tocantins: "The
175 imperial government has not spared efforts to call into the arms of civilization
797 the hordes that wander in the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. It was with this
439 purpose that in 1872 the establishment of the Mission of Bacabal was ordered."[10]

The superior of the new mission of Bacabal, Fr. Pelino de Castrovalva, under-

[4] Martius, 1867, p. 395.
[5] Spix and Martius, 1831, p. 1309.
[6] Casal, 1845, p. 237.
[7] See Murphy (1957) for a discussion of this pattern.
[8] Cf. Bates, 1863, p. 233.
[9] Tocantins, 1877, p. 134.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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took his task with some energy. But his methods were somewhat unexpected by the Itaituba merchants, who had strongly favored the establishment of a mission. The priest established himself at a point on the east bank of the upper Tapajós River and proceeded to gather into his "reduction" some 500 Mundurucú who had been dwelling on the banks of the stream. According to a later report by the French explorer, Henri Coudreau, the missionary had little or no contact with the main population in the savannah villages.[3] The mission Indians continued to collect forest products, principally rubber, and to sell them, but they traded only with the priests, who in turn [illegible] directly with Belém. Thus by-passed, the businessmen of Itaituba immediately protested to the governor of the province of Pará, claiming that the mission monopolized the Indian trade but made little effort toward catechization. The priest inveighed with equal vigor against the corrupting influence of the traders, whom he also accused of gross exploitation of the Indian population. Fr. Pelino lost the fight, and the mission was abandoned in 1876.

It would be extremely difficult to assay the effect of the Mission of Bacabal upon Mundurucú beliefs, for other avenues of communication with the white Christian population were opening rapidly during this period. As the rubber-extraction industry went into its boom period, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós and as far south as the waters of the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. And the rubber collectors correspondingly became more sedentary. Whole families settled in the rubber regions and remained there throughout the year. The new Brazilian population settled among and married with the Mundurucú of the Tapajós shores and had occasional contact with the more isolated dwellers of the interior. The latter fell increasingly into the skein of debt relations upon which the rubber economy was and is based, and the structure of their relations with the traders provided the means by which Christianity and other aspects of Western culture were communicated to them.

Recent Missionization

Active catechization of the Mundurucú Indians effectively lapsed with the abandonment of the Mission of Bacabal. Efforts were renewed by the Diocese of Santarém in 1911, however, and in 1912 German priests of the Franciscan order established a mission on the Cururú River, a tributary of the Tapajós flowing through the southern part of Mundurucú territory. The first task undertaken by the priests was to end Mundurucú warfare. Decline in numbers and involvement in the rubber trade made the Indians receptive to exhortations against war. Their prowess had been on the wane for some time, and wars were infrequent and of small scale by 1912. The next problem, that of bringing the Indians under the complete influence of the mission, met with very limited success until the classical pattern of trading with them was adopted. The priests bought rubber at a higher price than did the traders, and they sold merchandise more cheaply. So great was their success in attracting the Mundurucú that a

[3] Coudreau, 1897, p. 28.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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a thunderous noise, audible only to the animals, and they follow it to its new home. 756 776

The manifestation of the mother of the game in coatá monkeys and land tortoises is recognized by the Mundurucú to be a temporary, and thus somewhat ephemeral, state. Only certain of these animals harbor the *putcha ïi*, and they can be recognized only by a shaman. It is very important that they be identified as the carriers of the *putcha ïi*, for if an unwary hunter kills one, he is subject to the vengeance of the spirit. Land tortoises bearing the *putcha ïi* are occasionally caught by shamans and kept in secret places near the villages, where they are fed a drink made from sweet manioc and washed with water into which envira cherosa has been rubbed. The food and the delicate scent of the latter vine are gratifying to the *putcha ïi*, and good hunting is thereby assured in the area. 224

There are other shamanistic techniques for pleasing the mother of the game and thus insuring an abundant game supply, and the major Mundurucú ceremonies are also dedicated to that end. But the *putcha ïi* is a source of danger when offended, and the Mundurucú hunter must observe a strict etiquette toward game animals lest he attract the wrath of their mother. There are several ways of incurring the vengeance of the *putcha ïi*. Killing and eating any game animal except one in which a *putcha ïi* or the spirit mother of the particular species is traveling is considered to be perfectly legitimate. However, the animal must be killed primarily for its meat. The *putcha ïi* becomes offended when a hunter kills any animal except the jaguar and leaves its carcass to rot, or when an animal is killed only for its hide. One may take the hide from an animal—and the Mundurucú sell hundreds of peccary hides every year to traders—but the meat of the animal must be eaten. Beyond this conservation measure it is considered reprehensible to make a joke about, or make vulgar use of, any part of an animal that has been killed, for one must observe a certain decorum and respect toward game. The apparatus and ritual acts that formed parts of the great ceremonies held for the spirit mothers are considered sacred and their use or performance on profane occasions would be most dangerous. It was for this reason that I was unable to induce the Mundurucú to enact any part of those ceremonies no longer practiced, although they were willing to describe them in detail. Finally, the sweet manioc drink offered to the *putcha ïi* on ceremonial occasions must be ritually pure. If it was prepared by a woman who had recently had intercourse or who was menstruating at the time, the *putcha ïi* would become extremely angry. [739] [825] [782] [784]

The *putcha ïi* punishes humans by inflicting accidents upon them and by robbing their souls. Snakebites, cuts, falls, and all other accidental injuries are looked upon as the vengeance of the *putcha ïi*, and the shaman must be called in to ascertain the reason for the attack. Moreover, subsequent to the accident, the *putcha ïi* directs a malignant object into the body of the injured person, causing him to sicken and in some cases die. The shamans consider these among their most difficult cases, for as soon as they successfully extract one malignant object, the *putcha ïi* sends another. [752]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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Brazilian Indians SL4

M
177 durucú society are the subject of this study. But funda-
182 mentally what has taken place is the attraction of a simple people by the new, glittering, and eminently useful objects proffered by Western civilization, and their ultimate reliance upon these items. These things, in themselves, have had limited effect on aspects of culture other than the material inventory. Rather, it has been the means of obtaining them and the social relationships in which they are exchanged that have altered the nature of Mundurucú
M society. These means have been the production first of
● [439] manioc flour and later of wild rubber as cash commodities, and the establishment of a client relationship to white patrons in a mercantile economy.

B
M
182 The experience of the Mundurucú is not unique. It has
563 parallels throughout the world, especially in Amazonia.
177 There remnants of similarly fragmented tribes have merged into the racially mixed population, and others are on the threshold of assimilation. Incorporation into the neo-Brazilian, or *caboclo*, population of the Amazon valley is not as long a step for the Indian as the corresponding process in the United States. The term caboclo is used in Brazil to designate the lower-class backwoodsmen and peasants of the interior. In the Amazon it refers to the rubber collectors and farmers, whose racial composition is generally a cross of Indian and Caucasoid with a minor admixture of Negroid genes. No strictly defined racial demarcations prevent the transition of Indian to Brazilian. The barriers are social, linguistic, and cultural. That is, the Indian remains such as long as he identifies himself with a tribal society and plays social roles within it; and the extent to which he preserves the cultural and linguistic symbols of his own society makes possible life within it and inhibits communication beyond it.

Most Indian groups of Brazil are today transitional to

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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648 which, ironically, is what the townsman calls the backwoodsman. The Brazilian residents in the upper Tapajós are scattered along its banks and the lower sections of its larger tributaries as far south as 9° S lat. on the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. Beyond this point the country is inhabited by the Nambikuára, Tapayuna, and Tupí-Cawahíb Indians, who are all hostile to the whites and effectively prevent further penetration. The Gê-speaking Northern Kayapó Indians, who live to the east of the Mundurucú, have raided the upper Tapajós in recent years, and at the time of our visit fear had induced all inhabitants of the east bank of the river between the Tropas and Jamaxím rivers to move to safer areas.

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249 The local Brazilians have an enormous fear of hostile Indians. This is especially true of recent immigrants to the Amazon, and it is reinforced by a general feeling of insecurity in the jungle environment. The natives of the States of Ceará and Piauí who have been attracted to the area through aspirations of wealth in rubber, are frequently heard to remark that "life here is a sacrifice"; or "it is better to starve in town where there is movement and people than in this desolation." Inhabitants born in the area are, of course, accustomed to it, but they recognize their own poverty and the despair of their condition. Life in the jungle is difficult; the people are poor and often hungry and deprived of the barest necessities of life. Rubber, the basic export of the area, once offered rich returns to collectors, and especially to traders, but the latex of
● [439] the wild *Hevea* is now submarginal on the world market; the population engaged in its extraction has correspondingly experienced a forty-year period of depression.

648 The governments of Brazil and of the State of Pará are remote from the region. On rare occasions, one or two policemen from the town of Itaituba, the seat of the mu-

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customers of the patron remain in their isolated dwellings the year round.

Every rubber collector deals steadily with the same patron, because the latter controls the section of forest land in which his clients work. The trader usually has no legal title, but receives rights of exploitation by paying the state tax on the gross cash return from the land. The right of exploitation, perpetuated by the state tax, usually rests on a nebulous title, and, according to Wagley, it is "control over the land, and not legal documents" which establishes ownership in the Amazon.[8] The patron grants permission to the rubber tapper to extract rubber from his lands and, in return, exerts a trade monopoly in which his client sells rubber to him and buys goods from him. The patron profits from both sale and purchase and, since he passes the state tax on to the rubber collector, the latter receives but small return in terms of the prices prevailing in the urban markets. The client has freedom of movement only when he is not in debt to the patron, which rarely happens. If he owes money, he can transfer to another patron only if the new one settles the debt and transfers it to his own books. The rubber collector sometimes deals with the *regatões*, or itinerant merchants who ply the rivers, but these transactions are infrequent and in small amounts because the patron does not tolerate a substantial loss of commerce. The rubber collector who deals too often with the *regatão* might be denied credit by his regular patron or, less frequently, evicted from his avenue.

The economic power of the trader is especially strong on the upper Tapajós River because of a combination of geographic and economic factors. The lower Tapajós, from its mouth at Santarém to the first rapids 150 miles upstream, is economically diversified, and its rubber pro-

[8] Wagley, 1953, p. 92.

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duction is overshadowed in value by agricultural products, cattle, and hardwoods. Some rubber is still produced at the old Ford plantations, now government-owned, at Belterra and Fordlandia, but both installations are currently mainly used for experimental cattle breeding. Commerce is correspondingly brisker on the lower Tapajós. The inhabitants are not only visited regularly by several traders, but they have access to the market facilities of small towns and the city of Santarém.

The upper Tapajós and its two main tributaries, the São Manoel and Juruena rivers, are broken by a series of heavy rapids, some of which are impassable in the dry season. The first set of rapids, the Cachoeira de Maranhão, can be passed during the flood stage of the river only with considerable danger. For this reason, a five-mile-long road was built around them early in the century with the result that the trading company that controlled the road could force the local patrons to deal only with it, and thus effectively monopolize trade on the river. This is done by allowing only freight bought from the company and destined for freightage on the company launches to be transported on the road. Several attempts at competition by passing cargo through the dangerous rapids have ended in failure. Whatever company has controlled the two-way trade of rubber export and consumer-goods import has been able to fix consumer prices at whatever the market would bear. These prices have usually been too high to keep a stable, permanent working force, and there has been a chronic labor shortage on the Tapajós, even after the great rubber boom ended. The prices charged by the company for freight and goods are based on a cost index already made high by lack of the deep-water transportation available on the lower Tapajós. On the upper river, the rapids force the use of shallow-draft diesel launches

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439 that carry only ten tons of cargo. This limitation prohibits the diversified economy of the lower Tapajós from developing further upstream, for the only worthwhile product in terms of transportation costs is natural rubber, which sold in 1952 for the artificially supported price of Cr. $25 (approximately U.S. $0.75 at the open-market rate of exchange then prevailing) per kilogram at the government-operated Rubber Bank of Brazil in Belém.

439 452 The economic hierarchy of the Tapajós River consists of the company, with headquarters in Belém; the patrons, who are by necessity customers of the company; and the rubber collectors, who are the clients of particular patrons. Transactions between all parties are made on credit. The company advances commodities to the traders and the latter to the rubber collectors against expected deliveries of rubber. Very little cash passes hands.

439 621 648 The river valley can be conceived of as a socioeconomic unit for it is bound together by economic ties from the company through the patron down to the rubber collector; and to the man born on the river, it is the only world he knows. Most ties of kinship, marriage, and friendship are confined to the river banks from the rapids to the limits of Brazilian penetration on the São Manoel and Juruena rivers. Most of the approximately 2,000 inhabitants of this large region are either personally acquainted or have knowledge of each other.

621 648 Within the broad social framework imposed by the river system, the local community consists of the patron and his dispersed rubber-collecting clients. The patron serves as the focal point of community life: he is usually the *padrinho*, or godfather, of the customer's children; it is at his house that devotions to the saints are usually held; it is there that secular festivals such as dances occur; and his store serves as the gathering place on Sundays or alternate

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2

the contact period

The Mundurucú explain in the form of legendary history how and why relations were established with the white man: 173 648

> In the old days our grandfathers were still wild and fought against the white men. The whites used to come up our rivers in their canoes, and we always battled. One day a group of them came up, and there was a fight and our men were driven off. Two of our young men were wounded and were left behind. They were captured and taken away.
>
> The next time the white men came we were about to attack when the two men who were captured stood up in the canoe and told us not to do anything as these people were our friends. They then came forward and showed us clothes, knives, axes, and many other good things that the whites gave them. They said that if we gave rubber and *farinha* to the whites, we too would receive these things. The elders decided to do this and ever since we have been friends of the white men. [439]

[p 27]

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THE CONTACT PERIOD

439 This account is hardly the complete story of the Mun-
648 durucú's contact with Western society, and, since more than one hundred fifty years have passed, it cannot be taken literally. But it explains summarily how the Indians became engaged in the Amazonian barter economy and were induced to accept the whites. Trade with the white men had much to offer. Steel tools are so far superior to stone axes and bamboo knives that they have been sought after eagerly by almost all aborigines. The efficacy of firearms, also, was early and forcibly demonstrated to them by the whites. The traders had many other things that attracted the primitive population of the Amazon. Among them were trinkets and glass beads, the raw Brazilian rum, *cachaça*, clothes to protect them from insects and the cool nights of interior Brazil, and all the gewgaws and gadgets of the civilized world.

177 Once exposed to these mixed benefits of Western cul-
648 ture, it is as difficult for the aborigine to turn away as it is
439 for the American; he is caught in the trap of his own newly induced needs. So strong is the Indian's desire for manufactured goods and so great is his dependence upon them that the Brazilian Indian Protection Serivce commonly uses the lure of Western commodities to establish communication with hostile tribes preliminary to their pacification. Traders in the Amazon region have classically used this technique to attract and hold native labor, which they have always desperately needed in their efforts to extract wild products. The Mundurucú have not suffered from the worst excesses committed by the commercial interests, but other means, including torture and degeneration by rum, have been used to recruit them and other Indians throughout the Amazon Valley. The net effect has been to draw the native population into a client status under white patrons and to integrate it into the mercantile econ-

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omy of the region. Trade and the patron have thus been the principal instruments in effecting social and cultural change in this part of South America.

THE EARLY CONTACT PERIOD

The Mundurucú were unknown in north Brazil, reported Martius, until 1770, when they began to launch strong attacks on the Portuguese settlements along the shores of the Amazon.[1] It was at this time, also, that they undertook an epic attack into the State of Maranhão, some 500 miles distant. A successful expedition was launched against them in 1795 in the upper Tapajós River region by the governor of Pará, after which they began to drift into the proximity of civilized settlements.[2]

The extent of Mundurucú territory in the eighteenth century is somewhat uncertain. Despite the possibility of a more southerly origin, the Indians themselves maintain that their home has always been in the savannahs to the east of the Tapajós, their scene of mythology is there, and that is where the expedition of 1795 found them. Their late appearance in Amazon history suggests that the Mundurucú occupation of sections of the lower Tapajós River and the country between the Tapajós and lower Madeira River did not much predate 1800 and was the result of the contact. Jesuit missionaries were active on the lower Tapajós River and west to the Madeira during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but the Mundurucú are not among the tribes of that sector mentioned by João Bettendorf, the Jesuit chronicler.[3] A Brazilian traveler, Ricardo de Almeida Serra gives further support to this contention in his report on tribes living on or near the

[1] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[2] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4–5.
[3] Bettendorf, 1910.

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sion and were also scattered throughout the surrounding forest. They were already conducting trade with the whites in manioc flour, sarsaparilla, and *guaraná* and apparently did not have the men's house and the other accoutrements of the traditional men's organization. According to these explorers, the Indians were found mainly on the Canomá and its tributary, the Secundurý. About forty years later, Mundurucú inhabitants lived also on the Abacaxís and Maué-Assú rivers, two other tributaries of the Paraná-Mirim, a channel that connects the Amazon with the lower Madeira.

The Mundurucú of that area are of interest, because the earliest assimilation of large numbers of the tribe took place in the Madeira River region. It was there too that a long tradition of friendly relations with the whites was established; this friendship was to a large extent sealed by the coöperation of the Mundurucú in the quelling of tribes of the region still hostile to the colonists. In the late eighteenth century, two tribes of the lower Madeira, the Mura and the Arara, especially the former, waged incessant warfare against the white settlements and did much to impede the colonization of the central Amazon Valley. Unable to cope with the Mura, the whites enlisted the aid of the Mundurucú and from this date, according to Charles F. Hartt, the whites and the Mundurucú were allies.[13] By 1819, Ayres de Casal reported the lower Madeira River town of Borba to have a nearby settlement of Mura who had sought refuge from the Mundurucú,[14] and in 1852, Henry Walter Bates, the noted English naturalist, found fugitive remnants of the tribe scattered along the Amazon as far as the town of Catuá, a short distance below the mouth of the Rio Teffé.[15] At the time Bates wrote, the at-

[13] Hartt, 1885, pp. 116–117.
[14] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 238.
[15] Bates, 1863, p. 168.

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175 182 648 721 social cohesion also, because it provided a rallying point for tribal coöperation and a common goal in the pursuit of which factional differences were forgotten. And it afforded an escape valve for aggressions that could not be safely unleashed within the society.

These factors helped to preserve the integrity and autonomy of Mundurucú society during a period of stress and encroachment. Their coöperation with the whites set a pattern of friendship and mutual respect. The Indians were valuable to the whites, and the latter did not take any action that would disturb the symbiotic relationship. Similarly, the natives relied on the Brazilians for trade [439] goods, and restricted their military activities (which were not by any means always or even usually at the immediate behest of the whites) to tribes that were not yet pacified. And in no case did they war upon the whites. When the great rubber boom arrived, the Mundurucú were gradually and peacefully recruited into the labor force, in contrast to the experience of other tribes, and the ease of the transition is no doubt partly attributable to the ties of economic dependency and friendship which had become established.

175 439 648 Trade and exploitation of natural resources came late to the upper Tapajós because of the impediments to navigation imposed by its many rapids, and also because of the specific commodities available there. The rich Tapajós rubber did not begin to assume great economic importance until well into the second half of the century, while the Madeira waters had abundant resources of *guaraná* and sarsaparilla, both of which were intensively sought in the early nineteenth century; and agricultural products were traded in the latter area on a large scale at an earlier date, also, because Brazilian markets were not far.

Shortly before the mid-century the Mundurucú of the

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upper Tapajós began to supplement their sporadic income as warriors with the proceeds of trade. The early commerce with these Indians was carried on entirely by the itinerant traders, *regatões*—as late as 1852, there were no permanent Brazilian settlements south of Itaituba.[26] The region was still only occasionally penetrated by Brazilians, and trade was too small to warrant permanent commercial posts. The regatões served the purpose, traveling throughout the region in canoes of from five to ten tons capacity, selling the merchandise that they carried aboard, and receiving garden and forest products in return. Bates described this early trade as follows:

> They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós] make large plantations of mandioca and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajós to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lb. each) annually to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They also gather large quantities of sarsaparilla, india-rubber, and Tonka beans, in the forests. The traders, on their arrival at the Campinas (the scantily wooded region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucús beyond the cataracts) have first to distribute their wares—cheap cotton clothes, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cashaca—amongst the minor chiefs and then wait three or four months for repayment in produce.[27]

As Bates noted, the trade was not conducted between individuals but between the trader and the village chiefs. The regatão gave merchandise to the chief and told him what he wanted in exchange; it was the chief's duty to exhort his people to production and, also, to distribute the trade goods among them. The people themselves had little or no contact with the traders, and only the chief had an account. It seems almost unnecessary to say that the exploitation of the illiterate Indians was extreme and that

[26] Bates, 1863, p. 233.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 243–244.

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the Brazilian traders cheated the Indians mercilessly. Accounts were and are to this day arranged so as to keep the Indian almost continually in debt. The trader thereby attaches the labor of his Indian clients and induces the creditor chiefs to exact as much work from their people as possible. As a case in point, in 1875 Antonio Tocantins found one Mundurucú chief to owe the then phenomenal sum of 6,876 milreis.[28]

The Indian trade reported by Bates was mainly in manioc flour, which was also a major product of the Mundurucú of the Madeira waters visited in 1819 by Spix and Martius. Only small amounts of rubber were collected on the upper Tapajós in 1852, but the importance of this commodity soared rapidly in the next quarter century. Tocantins reported it to be the principal item of commerce in 1875.[29] By 1860, Brazilian rubber tappers had begun to penetrate the Tapajós valley during the dry season. They were found in greatest concentration below the Cachoeira de Chacarão, although some drifted further upstream. Chandless, in 1860, encountered a group of clothed Mundurucú working for two runaway Negro slaves on the Juruena River, a tributary of the Tapajós.[30] More Mundurucú were noted in small settlements on the banks of the Tapajós far downstream.[31] During the period of which Chandless wrote, only a small percentage of the Mundurucú of the savannah country were working in rubber. He commented that "the people here [the Mundurucú] trade in salsa [sarsaparilla] and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers."[32] During the next twenty years, they became more completely committed to the

[28] Tocantins, 1877, p. 154.
[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 149–154.
[30] Chandless, 1862, p. 275.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 277.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

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rubber trade, and further contact was provided by the establishment of the mission of Bacabal on the upper Tapajós in 1872. The Silesian priest in charge attempted to protect the Indians from the traders and is said by Tocantins to have told them, "My children, you owe nothing to the contrabandist regatões; now you will work only for yourselves, your women, and your children." [33] The priest's technique for protecting the Indians was, quite simply, to monopolize their trade. The rubber interests were powerful, however, and in 1876 he was dismissed upon complaint of the businessmen of Itaituba, and the mission was abandoned.

Concurrent with the rise and fall of the mission of Bacabal, increasing numbers of permanent houses of commerce were established on the banks of the upper Tapajós and its tributaries. The importance of rubber had resulted in regular exploitation of the resource, and the system of establishing proprietary rights to rubber regions was extended to the upper Tapajós. This was done through grants by the state or purchase from it, or by simple squatter rights perpetuated by force and registry on the tax rolls. Since that time, the basic social and economic organization for the exploitation of rubber has changed little, although the violence of the boom days has subsided and the Tapajós has declined into an economically stagnant, poverty-stricken backwater.

The Mundurucú became absorbed into the patron-client system and they also came into closer proximity to the whites, who poured into the region as the rubber boom accelerated. Although the larger part of the Indian population remained in the savannah villages and collected rubber for only brief periods, there was a steady egress of people to the major streams. Tocantins states that many

[33] Tocantins, 1877, p. 149.

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Tocantins states that many
Mundurucú were also being pressed into household servitude by the whites,[34] a practice common to all of Amazonia at that time. Many Mundurucú accompanied their patrons to work in different regions, and others remained all year at their rubber avenues in the valley of the Tapajós. Illustrative of this spread of Mundurucú over the upper Tapajós region are Coudreau's figures, which give the Mundurucú population of the banks of the upper Tapajós in 1895 as 173; of the Juruena-Bararaty rivers, 72; and of the São Manoel River, 49.[35] All these scattered Mundurucú were living in Brazilian-type houses with an average population of ten in each house. This process was obviously a continuation on a local scale of the earlier spread of the Mundurucú to the lower Tapajós and the Madeira tributaries.

The population of the savannah villages decreased during this period because of death from disease and loss of people to the river banks. However, the villages themselves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of losing function, actually became more important, and for some time the villages became politically more tightly integrated. The chief now had the additional position as intermediary with the white man and as such was the source of trade goods; the modern Mundurucú still speak of the days when "chiefs were strong and bought everything for the people." After the patrons became firmly established and gained influence among the Indians, they began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 148.
[35] Coudreau, 1897, p. 166.

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Second, warfare, for both mercenary pay and trophy heads, persisted on a somewhat reduced scale and was especially successful, as Hartt notes, because of the acquisition of firearms.[36] The continuance of warfare helped to maintain the cohesion of the tribe and village as social units for the reasons already discussed, and also because it bolstered the positions of the chiefs by activating their roles as war leaders.

The Mundurucú who remained in their traditional villages in the savannahs east of the upper Tapajós were not as completely absorbed into the invading Brazilian society as the people who migrated to the river banks to tap rubber. But they, too, sought trade goods, and these, increasingly, were available only through rubber production. The most troublesome tribes of the region were largely pacified, and the demand for Mundurucú military service had consequently declined. Also, the Indians were more valuable to the traders in collecting rubber, which by the end of the century was netting the traders fabulous monetary returns. The recruitment of Indians into rubber collecting did not cause the immediate disintegration of their village life. Rubber was collected by them only from June to September, during which period they left their savannah villages to live in temporary shelters at their rubber avenues. This seasonal fractionation of the society had a precedent in the traditional practice of scattering along the streams to hunt and fish during the dry season. As in times past, when rubber collection was finished, the dispersed population reunited in their villages, where the native round of activities persisted throughout the remaining nine months of the year.

The Mundurucú territory also shrunk, for traditional-type villages no longer existed on the waters of the Creporý River in 1895 when Coudreau ascended the Ta-

[36] Hartt, 1885, p. 131.

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131 pajós,[37] although Chandless had stated that they inhabited
175 the headwaters of that river in 1860.[38] Thus, by 1895 at the latest, the territory of the savannah Mundurucú had diminished to its present confines between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, and the number of communities was no doubt correspondingly smaller. The rest of the region in which Mundurucú were scattered in rubber production was occupied jointly with the Brazilians. Those remaining
[177] on the savannahs had already been exposed to civilization. They had acquired steel tools and clothes from the whites, and their warfare was more restricted; they had suffered losses in their material culture, and they had been exposed to Christianity. But the bulk of Mundurucú culture persisted.

175 By 1912–1914, depopulation, the demands of the rubber
182 economy, scarcity of nearby hostile Indian tribes, and
648 mission influence had combined to end warfare. This was
177 a severe blow to the native culture, for one of its central foci had now disappeared; the primary interest of the Mundurucú male had been valor, trophy-head and captive taking, and the great ceremonies centering on the heads. It is a loss still felt today by the older Mundurucú men, who now look skeptically at the future and nostalgically at the past.

175 It was in this period, also, that the rubber boom col-
439 lapsed, with the ultimate effect of giving a short extension
648 to the life of the native society. Rubber collection decreased in importance and yielded decidedly less return. The produce and labor of the Indians were no longer so eagerly sought, and there was a decrease in numbers of Brazilian rubber tappers and traders in the area. But the Mundurucú had already become completely dependent

[37] Coudreau, 1897, p. 30.
[38] Chandless, 1862, p. 277.

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on manufactured goods and continued to tap rubber, although on a reduced scale.

In 1911, a German priest, Fr. Hugo Mense of the newly established Franciscan diocese of Santarém, ascended the Tapajós and chose a site on the Cururú River where he established a mission. The location decided upon was about two miles north of the Cururú on the boundary between the savannahs and the gallery forest that borders the stream. In 1912, the mission personnel numbered two priests and three nuns. The priests attempted to catechize the Indians while the nuns were in charge of the mission school, which, according to William C. Farabee, had twenty-six Indian and Brazilian children in 1916.[39] At that time, the Cururú region was populated only during the dry season, when the Indians moved from the savannahs to the Cururú to collect rubber. During this period, they were visited regularly by merchants who plied the river. Many people of the savannah villages, within a range of from three hours to two days by foot from the Cururú, did not, however, tap rubber.

In 1918, a new priest arrived at the mission who urged the relocation of the mission because of the distance from the river bank and the shortage of agricultural land in its immediate vicinity. Plans were made for a larger, permanent, self-sustaining establishment and to that end, the mission moved to its present site on the banks of the Cururú, began to raise its own crops, and instituted a policy of trading with the Indians. That policy gave the mission an income and simultaneously removed the Indian from his dependence on the traders. The priests had recognized the great influence held by the patrons over their Indian clients and saw that it would be to the advantage of the mission if it assumed this role. But in the beginning

[39] Farabee, 1917, p. 138.

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175 797 little progress was made in attracting the Indians to the mission. The priests made the rounds of the villages preaching and baptizing, and children were recruited for the school, but such contacts were sporadic.

175 439 797 In the late 1920's, the world price of rubber rose somewhat as a result of export restrictions imposed on the planters of British Malaya, and the attraction of higher returns caused the Indians to become more engaged in trade. This meant, of course, that more Indians came into contact with the mission in its new role as a trading post. The regatões still offered competition, but the Mundurucú, who knew nothing of weights and prices, nonetheless learned that they received a greater return for their rubber and manioc flour from the missionaries. They came to tap rubber in increasing numbers along the Cururú, and many left the savannah villages for all-year residence on its shores. By the 1930's, permanent villages began to grow up on the river banks. This population shift proceeded so rapidly that by 1950 there were only about 360 Mundurucú left on the savannahs, whereas the Cururú population numbered 700.

[361] [166] [162]

175 439 657 Of less importance in attracting a permanent population to the Cururú was the founding on that river of the Mundurucú post of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service in 1941. This post followed the establishment of an Indian reservation in 1939 that included most of the country lying inland from the Tapajós and bounded by the Cururú and Tropas rivers. Traders were barred from the reservation but since no inspection points were set up on the Tropas, Cabitutú, and Cadiriri rivers, the Tapajós River patrons and some regatões were still able to visit the savannahs. However, the Cururú, where the bulk of the Mundurucú population now lives, was effectively closed

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to outside commerce, and a trade monopoly is now held by the mission and the post.

The population shift to the Cururú has had profound effects on Mundurucú society. Before 1930 there were fifteen villages in the interior region between the Tropas and the Cururú. Today there are only seven, for the eight villages nearest to the Cururú were abandoned after their populations had been steadily drained to the banks of the river. On the Cururú, there are no traditional villages. There is no men's house, and the architecture is local Brazilian. Six of the seven remaining savannah villages maintain the men's house and a modified form of the native dwelling.

Except for the village of Cauí, established in the 1930's by a few conservative Indians dissatisfied with life on the Cururú, all contemporary savannah villages are two to three days' march from the shores of the Cururú. The contact between the two populations is diminishing; they trade in different places, their way of life has become differentiated, and they feel themselves to be different. The Cururú River people ridicule the *campineiro,* the Brazilian term for a dweller of the savannahs, because "he has no clothes," "he is lazy," "his houses are dirty," and "he sleeps with a fire under his hammock at night." Actually, such ridicule reflects a sense of inferiority among the Cururú-River Mundurucú, because they at the same time respect the campineiro for his greater knowledge of the traditional culture, his supposedly still-existent warlike proclivities, and the fear that he may be a powerful sorcerer. The missionaries have inspired many of the stereotypes of the campineiro as an uncouth backwoodsman in order to persuade the people to abandon their native practices and accept missionary instruction. The campineiro, on the other

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durucú subsistence. Trade is for Western manufactured goods only; all food is obtained from the immediate environment.

The village is the basic unit of social interaction and cooperation among the Mundurucú. Strong ties exist between the residents of each community, and all feel themselves to be members of the tribe as a whole; there are no linguistic or cultural differences between any of the savannah villages, and feelings of localism are but weakly developed. But despite the fundamentally pan-tribal identification made by the people, the local community is the essential framework in which their daily existence is passed, and it is the largest social unit with a continuing political organization. Each village is autonomous within terms of the subsistence economy, and its membership constitutes the significant group engaged in production and distribution.

HUNTING

Of the four principal subsistence-seeking activities, hunting and horticulture contribute more to the food supply than fishing and gathering, except during the dry season when residence shifts to the river banks. To the Mundurucú man of the savannahs, the proper daily activity is the hunt. The men are tireless and enthusiastic hunters and prize game more than any other food. Hunting, in aboriginal times, was done exclusively with bows and arrows and simple traps. Many, but by no means most, men now have firearms, usually muzzle-loading shotguns. The principal animals hunted are tapir (*Tapirus americanus*), wild pig (*Tayassu albirostris*), catitú (*Tayassu tajassu*), several species of deer, *paca* (*Cuniculus paca Acs.*), monkeys, and birds. Wild pig is the most abundant source of game food in the Tapajós region. Although the men enjoy

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422 shotguns. A scattering of breech-loading shotguns and Winchester .44-caliber carbines is also found in the savannah villages. Each man also possesses a few fishhooks and some line, steel axes, knives, a machete, and usually a hoe. Other items of personal property include a hammock, two sets of cotton shirts and trousers, and a variety of such miscellaneous things as buckshot, a comb, matches, and cigarette papers.

Female property includes metal household utensils, ceramic pots, dresses, hammocks, needles and thread, scissors, knives, baskets, beads, brilliantine, hammock looms, tin cans, and a variety of gew-gaws. Items of personal [431] property are given away if the request is persistently and strongly phrased, but these gifts are generally in nonutil- [426] itarian articles. Hoes, knives, and similar items are less often requested, but they are freely loaned.

• [439] Trade and the influx of manufactured items have greatly expanded the inventory of Mundurucú personal property. [556] But there is no indication of any differentiation of the population by wealth. The only productive resources owned 423 by individual Mundurucú are the rubber avenues, and every man has one. The savannah Mundurucú derive no [466] profit from the labor of others nor do they maintain commercial relations with their fellows.

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tain, but it probably took place during the mid-nineteenth century. Matrilocality was the only mode of residence that even the oldest Mundurucú could remember, and they had no traditional memory of previous patrilocality. Also, Tocantins reported that, in 1875, quarrels between men were resolved by the departure of one of the parties from the village,[13] suggesting the absence of a local lineage and the high male mobility characteristic of Mundurucú matrilocality.

The reasons for the shift in post-marital residence rule are far less certain, and no final conclusions can be arrived at on the basis of available data. Certain known changes in productive relations, however, yield inference to the possible processes at work. It will be remembered that before their deep involvement in rubber production, the Mundurucú traded extensively in farinha, or manioc flour. This must have caused a substantial increase in the amount of land under cultivation and a great expansion of production of bitter manioc.[14] The roles of the male and female did not undergo any important shift. Men cleared the forest land for gardens, as they do today, and the women cared for the crops, harvested them, and manufactured the farinha. Women thus became of greater economic importance, because of the increase in gross amount

[13] Tocantins, 1877, p. 111.

[14] The extent of this early trade in manioc flour may be inferred from Martius's account (1867, p. 395 n.): "This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the settlements on the Tapajòz prepare 6000 pecks [3.12 litres each] of manioc flour annually, those of the Mauhé 1500 and those of the Canomá 800, which for the most part is exported to Santarem and neighboring locales. They readily give abundantly therefrom to the priests as a gift. In the year 1819 the Mundrucûs of the Canomá collected and brought to market 900 *arrobas* [32 pounds each] of cinnamon clove and an equal amount of sarsaparilla. Through such a disposition to homely diligence, the speedy settlement of all the Mundrucûs among the whites is to be expected."

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of work performed and the added importance of the co-operative labor involved in farinha manufacture. This process, as has been described, calls for a division of tasks and a degree of organization among the women of a household. The latter, under the patrilocal rule, consisted of the wives of the lineage members, a group of women of diverse residential origins having no preëstablished ties of mutual accommodation and coöperation. The altered social system resulting from matrilocality, however, maintained the household group of sisters and their daughters and provided for the continuity of a female work group bonded by ties of kinship and within which the members were reared. The new-type household was thus better suited to its intensified role as a productive unit.[18]

To review the reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú clanship, reference to a period well before the contact of the tribe with the whites is necessary. It was hypothesized that the Mundurucú were at that time patrilineal and patrilocal and were undergoing population expansion. The clans may have been completely localized; they surely had large local nuclei. The pressure of growing population on resources resulted in the budding off of lineages from these local groups; these lineages became subclans and ultimately independent clans maintaining a phratric affiliation with the parent unit. The colonization of the Amazon Valley and the subsequent establishment of trade with the whites, in which farinha was exchanged for manufactured articles, may have so enhanced the importance of female

[18] Eggan (1950, p. 131) states that the Hopi remained matrilocal despite the transfer of the major horticultural chores to the men because it was efficacious that the corn-grinding groups of related females be maintained. This presents a parallel to the hypothesized Mundurucú situation, although the Hopi pose a question of the maintenance of a pattern while the problem here is one of change. From either a causal or a functional viewpoint, however, the two cases support each other.

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431 food, as well as other articles, is between houses of more closely related females. But sharing is not structured exclusively by kinship; food was also given to our household [123] without question or request for payment. It was understood by the Indians, of course, that we would ultimately reciprocate by the distribution of manufactured articles, but the mutual exchanges existed on a general level between our house and the village and not between individuals in a trade of specific commodities.

476 The women of all village households frequently coöp-
244 erate in the harvesting of manioc and the preparation of
252 farinha, especially when large quantities are to be pro-
462 duced. These occasions show lucidly how nebulous are concepts of property among the savannah Mundurucú, for coöperation extends to the manufacture of farinha for trade to the whites. Men commonly arrange for the sale of [439] farinha to a trader and then call upon the women of their household to commence gathering and preparing the tubers. The women then invite women of other households to join them in the work. If the man who contracted the sale of farinha has an inadequate supply of manioc in his garden, the women frequently take the tubers from a garden in which there is a surplus, but which might belong to a member of another household. During the course of toasting the manioc flour, the invited women feel free to take portions of the completed product for their own households. The women of the house initiating production contribute most of the manioc and the bulk of the labor, and the productive process is, therefore, oriented to the household. The women of the other houses expect reciprocity at some time in the future, but there is no strict accounting of what is due in labor and manioc to individuals
422 or extended families.
574
476 That farinha belongs to whoever initiates its production

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of the chieftaincy and the persistence and aggravation of certain disruptive features.

First, the Mundurucú chief no longer holds the all-important position of war leader. Second, he now trades on behalf of his village in theory only. In the nineteenth century the trading function of the chief tended to bolster his traditional powers and some became well-known figures in the Tapajós valley. As the rubber trade grew in importance, the control of the chiefs became increasingly important to those traders who monopolized the Indian commerce. Since this period corresponded with the declining days of warfare, some traders were able to install their own appointees as village chiefs where the rightful holder of the office was unsuitable to them. Besides, traders occasionally took Mundurucú to Belém, where they were introduced to government functionaries and awarded the title of *capitão*. These new luminaries were sent back to their villages and assigned the task of representing the trader. Thus, legitimate lines of succession were broken, and the new chiefs owed their positions to the trader. The villagers were well aware of this.

The general patrilocality of the chief's family, no matter by what means he was selected, continued; his extended family remained the largest such unit in the village and, more important, was the only significant group of close male, patrilineal relatives. The rest of the village men were of diverse affiliations and found organization within the context of men's-house activities. But they were faced with a powerful kin group in which political authority was vested. If points of difference arose, the men of the chief's group rallied to his support, but antagonisms were aroused among the other men. In former times, the important functions served by the chieftainship undoubtedly overrode the potential factionalism inherent in this situation, but, in

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said, "Because it is beautiful there." Caetano recovered, and the unpopular Biboi returned to Cabitutú.

Today, the role of the chief as intermediary for his village with the traders is a fiction. The intricate trading system of Cabruá will be discussed below, but it must be mentioned here that the traders weigh each man's rubber production separately and give him his own credit, and each person's purchases are also separately charged to his own account. But all transactions are conducted in the presence of the chief, and he voices his followers' requirements of merchandise. Since it is convenient to the interests of the traders that the people feel they owe to the chief, the latter is charged with the combined accounts of his followers, and he is therefore expected to encourage their productivity. Despite this ruse, persons who are deeply in debt are refused further credit while those with only a small debt or a credit are given merchandise. The fiction of the chief's position is partly maintained, however, which tends to integrate his body of immediate followers. But the people understand, however imperfectly, that their fortunes and those of the chief are not identical and that the hard worker receives goods while the shirker does not, no matter how much the chief is said to owe.

The ultimate effect of trade probably will be to individualize commercial transactions further, and the office of chief will then lose almost all function. Its contemporary weakness, combined with the factionalism latent in the creation of patrilineages in a matrilocal society, have made it the center of controversy. However, the chieftaincy continues to symbolize the identity of the village, and, despite its stormy aspects, the decline of the institution is directly related to the progressive disorganization of village life.

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182 regular intervillage festivals, and this has contributed to
638 the weakening of the bonds of descent. Villages pursue a
796 far more isolated existence than they did in former times, and extravillage ties no longer bind the individual so closely to life in the savannahs. Within the villages, the disruptions caused by sorcery and leadership combine with increasing participation in trade relations to disturb the equilibrium of community life.

THE STRUCTURE OF MUNDURUCÚ-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS

314 The economic and social adjustments made by the Mun-
439 durucú to the collection and trade of wild rubber can be
648 described by using the residents of Cabruá as illustration. The trade relations of the villagers have been briefly mentioned in the discussion of chieftainship, and it has been pointed out that the villagers disperse annually to tap rubber on both the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. Those who collect on the latter stream generally deal with the trader in the hamlet of Sae Cinza, but occasionally make transactions with itinerant peddlers. The chief of Cabruá maintains his rubber-season dwelling on the Cabitutú at a place known as Cachoeirinha. With him live two other men, one of whom is his son-in-law, and two adolescent boys of his family, who also have rubber avenues. One of his sons and another man maintain a separate residence not far from that of the chief, and a stepson taps rubber near the mouth of the Cabitutú. The chief is considered the representative in trade of all but one of the dry-season residents of the Cabitutú, and these "clients" gather at his house when the trader is expected.

Several residents of Cabruá collect rubber on the Tropas River. Most are customers of a trader at Caroçal on the Tapajós River, who maintains a branch store and agent on

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the Tropas, but some do business with the trader of São Martinho, on the Tapajós. The people of Cabruá live in three separate hamlets on the Tropas. At one, the most powerful shaman of the village lives with two younger men of his household, and another is occupied by another man of the same house and his son-in-law. These two men trade on behalf of their rubber-avenue co-residents, and the chief of Cabruá is not considered to be their representative in trade. The Cabitutú River has only one or two all-year residents, and these are Brazilian. A number of families of Brazilians and eight Mundurucú families maintain regular homes on the Tropas, however. The latter Mundurucú associate to a varying extent with the villagers during the rubber season and occasionally come to Cabruá to seek the services of a shaman or simply to visit, but they remain marginal to village life.

The Mundurucú of the savannah communities collect less rubber than those of the Cururú and far less than the thè Brazilian tappers. The latter generally commence production as soon as the flood recedes in May or early June and collect until the rains and rising waters make their rubber avenues inaccessible in November or December. The efforts of the campineiros, however, are limited by their alternating residence between village and rubber-avenue dwelling. The residents of Cabruá have to clear land for gardens before they may depart, and this generally holds them until May. But only the more industrious Mundurucú leave at this time; many linger in the village until June or July, and in 1952 one man stayed until August. Rubber is collected until August, at which time the trees lose their leaves, and the yield drops off sharply for two to three weeks. Some Indians use this occasion to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in their garden sites and then return to the rubber avenue until

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the right to exploit the trees reached by the path; no concept of land or territorial private property is implied. Also, a man's right to a rubber avenue is recognized as valid and absolute only as long as he works it. If he abandons it, it may be worked by another after the former owner's permission is asked. If the owner of a rubber avenue dies, it passes to a son or son-in-law, who may either work it or dispose of it. Rubber avenues are not bought and sold by the Mundurucú and are not in themselves subject to commercial transaction. But despite this, they form the only type of natural resource subject to private ownership in this society. This fact gains increasing social importance in direct ratio to the dependence of the Mundurucú on the returns of rubber production. As this dependence increases, so does its individualizing effect on the society.

Almost all Mundurucú tap rubber on land reserved by the government for their use. The traders do not have any right of allocation of these rubber avenues, as they do in the areas under their control. Technically, the Indian is an independent producer, working on his own property as a free laborer, and selling on the market. But the same system of exclusive patronage and debt obligation that prevails in the Amazon has been extended to the native population, and the market is not an open one. That the Indian cannot be dispossessed from his rubber avenue, and that he does not rely on the trader for food give him somewhat more independence than the Brazilian rubber tapper, however.

Other, traditional bonds, reinforce the patron-client relationship. The tie is sometimes conceived of as between the trader and the leader of a group of Indians, as in the instance of the chief of Cabruá, who trades on behalf of a bloc of villagers. The patron thus counts on the loyalty of these followers to their chief. In other cases, the bond is

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439 an individual one. The patron is seen as the person who
466 gives valued objects and who must be given something in
640 return. Most residents of Cabruá gave sincere personal loyalty to their particular trader. This was often rationalized by the claim that one's own trader sold at cheaper prices and had more merchandise, but actually this is an interpersonal tie, defined by traditional status positions and role behavior, that has evolved through more than a century of commerce with Brazilians.

439 The client-patron relationship applies also to that be-
609 tween the Mundurucú and all white men of similar prestige position. The trader is called *katiwat;* or also *compá*, a corruption of the Brazilian term *compadre*, or co-father. The latter title was evidently learned from the white rubber collectors, for although the patron seldom acts as godparent to the children of Indians, he commonly does so for his Brazilian clients. Upon our arrival among the Mun-
123 durucú, I found myself being called by these terms, and I was expected by the Indians to assume the patron role. Many Indians understandably misunderstood our mission, and our large amount of supplies convinced them that I was a trader. Accordingly, some appeared with balls of smoked latex, in return for which they wished merchandise. After it was realized that we did not fit into the patron-client relationship, the people of Cabruá were willing to integrate us into the collective village economy and to designate us by kinship terms.

439 Firsthand contact between the Mundurucú of the savan-
649 nahs and their Brazilian neighbors can hardly be termed
484 intensive or large-scale, but it is regular. The trader generally visits his customers at four- or six-week intervals during the rubber-collection season and sporadically during the rains. He brings two or three employees, some of whom are Mundurucú, on these trips, and rarely remains

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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for more than a day or two. Almost everybody also makes one trip to the Tapajós River annually. These journeys have two purposes. First, they are pleasure jaunts, and secondly, they provide a chance to search for manufactured articles in the trader's store. On his trips, the trader need only bring as much material as he wishes to distribute; but he takes all the rubber that has been prepared. Some of the more wily Indians withhold some of their production for sale to regatões, but most merely protest to their compá that they have worked hard and expected more. This does little good, of course, for the patron's entire stock in sale is clearly visible in the bottom of his canoe. But, on the other hand, the Indians know that if they go directly to the store, where a large stock of goods is kept, and there make frequent and insistent requests, the patron will ultimately give in. He sometimes accedes because he knows that he cannot indefinitely and unlimitedly withhold from his clients their due, but often the Indian is actually in debt and the trader gives him more merchandise simply to get rid of him.

The constant demands of their Mundurucú clients are a source of continual aggravation to the traders, although they certainly do not lose in their dealings with the Indians. Actually, the technique of insistent requests for obtaining something is established practice in Mundurucú society. Even mythology tells of secrets that were divulged simply through the insistence of the questioner. Since few Mundurucú have the faintest notion of how accounts are computed and only a crude idea of the relative values of quantities of rubber and manufactured goods, this technique has become their standard means of negotiation. The traders keep accounts for their Indian clients, but the amount of merchandise they give to individuals is usually arrived at by compromise.

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SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

439 484 574 648 The Mundurucú also take great pleasure in their excursions to the Tapajós River. Although their main business is with their own patron, they often make side trips to other trading posts. During these stays, they attend the *rezas*, or prayer sessions, held by the patron's wife, and usually are welcomed at parties given by Brazilians. They sleep wherever there is room to hang a hammock and spend the days helping the patron or merely watching what little activity there may be. In the evenings, the visiting Mundurucú go to the patron's house, where they are served demitasse coffee. After one or two weeks they go home.

171 648 Since the traders' trips to the Indians are infrequent, and of short duration, these visits to the Tapajós shores constitute one of the principal means of learning the ways of the white men. The Mundurucú are extremely observant and sensitive to cultural differences. When in the houses of the traders, they usually remain silent except for an occasional exchange among themselves; but they watch intently and with interest. They are well aware of the [123] depth of cultural and linguistic differences, and they occasionally subjected me to lengthy, and quite intelligent questioning on the speech and manners of Americans.

191 648 Linguistic differences present a great barrier to cultural interchange. Only a few Brazilians possess any fluency in Mundurucú, and competence in Portuguese is similarly limited among the savannah dwellers. Most of the men speak a few words of Portuguese and understand a somewhat greater number. But their vocabulary is largely limited to simple and common words and phrases and to the names of items of commerce. No extensive direct communication of ideas between Mundurucú and Brazilian takes place.

177 648 This linguistic gulf is partly bridged by those bilingual

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that dictate other choices of residence. Most savannah marriages are still predominantly matrilocal, but there is a pronounced trend toward slackening of the rule and, perhaps, ultimate bilocality. The homogeneity of the group of related females has thereby been disturbed. Furthermore, the extended family in its reduced circumstances may include few or no true female siblings, but only matrilateral parallel cousins and more remote collaterals. The net effect of all these factors is to weaken the bonds of kinship in the household and to facilitate the separation of nuclear families or clusters of relatives.

The tightness of extended kinship ties has decreased. The nuclear family has gained greater importance because it is the consumption unit in the trade economy, and the extended family has correspondingly suffered. During the rubber season, the nuclear family is frequently the basic social and economic unit. Clanship has been preserved and continues to be a primary means by which the relations of the tribesmen are structured. But the clans long ago lost most of their corporate rights and obligations with the disappearance of their residential nuclei. Clanship persisted after this loss through large-scale enterprises in which many villages participated and which afforded clansmen the opportunity to coöperate and associate. But these activities too have declined, and the significant group of intensively interacting kinsmen is now restricted to the membership of individual villages. Relations between scattered clansmen are still maintained but seldom activated. Since a man usually has few, or no, clan fellows as village co-residents, the unity of descent groups is thereby weakened. It is seen, then, that in several respects the contradiction between descent and residence makes for fundamental instability in the social structure.

The most important force in the process of stripping the

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182 439 villages of their populations comes from the outside. The quest of the Mundurucú for trade items and the equally intense effort of the traders to obtain increased rubber yields from their Indian customers has steadily drawn the latter deeper in the extraction industry. The limitations placed on their production by rainy-season residence in the savannah villages has, however, proved an obstacle to their expanding demand for trade articles. Many have overcome this block by the simple expedient of remaining in their rubber-avenue homes throughout the year and thus extending the period during which they tap rubber.

The internal factors that ease or make necessary such a move are thus complemented by the pull of trade. Emi- [166] gration is easy. The family already has a house at the rubber avenue which with some patching may make a suitable all-year residence. Many have producing gardens [244] which were originally made to provide food during the dry season, but which can serve equally well during the rains. Since these gardens are commonly in good, black soil, they are actually more desirable than those near the village.

182 166 361 621 Individual nuclear families sometimes move immediately from village life into isolated existence. This is, of course, almost always true of fugitive sorcerers. But the desire for sociability and economic coöperation commonly motivates the family to settle with or adjacent to other Mundurucú who preceded them in the migration. Or a small group of nuclear families that customarily resides together in the dry season may leave village life together. 182 476 621 These clusters of families help each other in hunting, gardening, and manioc processing, and they also pool their resources to buy a copper pan to toast farinha. Since they generally produce more rubber than they did as savannah residents, they also have the purchasing power to buy a

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and they too abandoned the annual return to the savannahs. The material prosperity of these emigrants lured more of their brethren into increased rubber collection, and greater numbers of Indians began to establish permanent residences on the river banks. There is little doubt that the same centrifugal tendencies that are currently operating in the remaining savannah communities did much to hasten the migration. In time, small villages were established on the Cururú River.

Those who tapped rubber on the Cururú tended, as the people of Cabruá today, to choose avenues near their close kinsmen and house mates. Unmarried sons worked with their fathers, and sons-in-law also had contiguous rubber trails; other relatives worked nearby if it was convenient. When these families shifted to permanent occupancy of the river shores, they maintained these affiliations and either lived in the same dwelling or built adjacent but separate houses. Other persons who had rubber avenues in the vicinity migrated later and chose to settle in these little hamlets. Although this might force them to walk for thirty or forty-five minutes to their daily labors, the presence of others afforded the opportunity to share in farinha-making equipment and, of greater importance, provided them with the companionship and social intercourse to which village life had accustomed them.

Other migrants to the Cururú settled in these villages also, but their rubber avenues were too far away to allow daily commuting, and they had to follow the familiar pattern of village residence in the rainy season and temporary habitation of the rubber avenue during the dry summer. This was no great inconvenience, because these dry-season houses were usually within a few hours of the village and were easily accessible by water. The benefits of water transportation could only be enjoyed if one had a canoe,

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of course, but that could be obtained in trade with the mission if one worked hard.

The villages grew by increments and with no special order. The original houses were of the sort that the Mundurucú usually erected in their rubber avenues. These had a square floor plan, and, when graced with walls, usually were made of straw or wattle and daub in the manner characteristic of those of the Brazilian rubber collectors. Later additions to the village followed this design and furthered the already drastic alteration of the traditional Mundurucú settlement by being built in any convenient space in the village clearing, with no reference to an over-all village plan. Today, the usual Mundurucú village on the Cururú consists of from three to eleven square wattle-and-daub houses having no special arrangement except that all face toward the river.

The circumstances of the migration induced other changes in village organization. Since the first permanent settlers on the Cururú came in small groups of one to three nuclear families, it was no longer possible to carry out the old coöperative economic organization; this is essentially the same problem faced by the contemporary campineiros during the rubber season. There were not enough men in any one place to carry on the almost daily collective hunts, but the proximity of the river and the stable food supply it offered compensated for this. Timbó-fishing trips still required a concentration of forces, but, since they occurred only periodically during the dry season, the gatherings could be arranged by sending invitations abroad. Everyday bow-and-arrow fishing required only two men, one to handle the canoe and the other to shoot the fish. If fishing was done from the banks, one man was adequate to the task. Thus, the new economic circumstances of their lives combined with the nature of the migration itself to decrease the dependency of the individual on a large group.

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durucú village on the Cururú River has ever had the men's house. The male organization has meaning primarily in terms of the social and economic division of the sexes and in the maintenance of male solidarity and dominance. These have been drastically altered, and the men's house would have no function in the new social structure. Similarly, the ceremonies for the game-animal spirits have never been observed on the Cururú, because the major festivals were focused on the hunt and depended on the men's house for their proper completion. Also of importance has been the presence of the missionaries, who have consistently discouraged native religious ceremonies in the region under their influence.

THE RUBBER TRADE

When posed with the question of why he prefers residence on the Cururú to the savannahs, the male Mundurucú informant gives three reasons. First, that even in the rainy season one can catch enough fish in the Cururú River, while the campineiro may hunt to no avail for several days in succession. Second, that savannah life requires much walking, but that, on the Cururú, the canoe makes travel easier. The walks referred to are those long treks that the savannah dweller must make at the beginning and end of the rubber season, when his supply of farinha has to be replenished, or when work has to be done in the gardens. Third, that on the Cururú trade goods are plentiful and accessible, and a better return is received from rubber.

The latter point is important, because the Mundurucú are aware of the sharp practices of the Brazilian traders, although they feel powerless to cope with them. "Not only does the patron give very little for rubber," say the Cururú River residents "but when asked for more expensive articles he always replies that he does not have any

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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in stock, although everybody knows that this is false." In contrast, they have more confidence in the missionaries and, despite some animosity against the priests, generally concede that they do not deceive their clientele.

The most casual inventory of the possessions of a Cururú household shows that the people there own many more manufactured goods and far fewer articles of native manufacture than the campineiros. Pottery and hammock making are almost forgotten arts, although they are continued by the savannah women. Also, the Cururú woman usually has two old dresses, one fine dress, and one or two slips. Her campineiro sister has only one dress for everyday wear and is extremely lucky to have a slip or a "party" dress. The Cururú men, likewise, have more clothes than the men of the savannahs and attach more importance to sartorial elegance. They also seek to obtain many other items, such as canoes, coffee, and sugar; these are known and appreciated by the campineiro but are not within his means, and are not yet viewed by him as necessities.

Concomitant with the greater demand for manufactured articles has been an increase of the prestige of Western culture in the eyes of the Cururú people. They want these articles for their utility more than do the campineiros, and a positive value is attached to their use. But it is chiefly the overt and material aspects of the outside world that entice the Mundurucú. The resistance of their children to the teaching of the Portuguese language, reading, and arithmetic at the mission and Indian Service schools is remarkable. And although Christianity is not actively rejected, the people are not deeply affected by the missionary teachings. The words of the priests are accredited and respected without any commitment or great interest on the part of their listeners. Not even those Mundurucú who have been reared by the missionaries and have lived at

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177 797 the mission throughout their lives wholly renounce native belief.

The priests have had considerably more success in en- 177 couraging a positive attitude toward rubber collection and 461 in fostering productivity as a prestige index. This is not true on the savannahs, where production is more narrowly linked to the obligation of the client to the patron and to the acquisition of needed goods. On the Cururú, however, it is more common to hear a person characterized as "lazy" or as "a good worker" with special reference to rubber collecting. The women make such statements more often than [562] the men, for the value of a woman's possessions and there- [556] fore her status in the new scale of female values depends on the amount of rubber her husband collects. Thus, the Cururú woman does not want to marry a "lazy" man and [581] especially does not want a campineiro, who is more likely to be a disinterested rubber tapper and less inclined to help his wife in what he considers to be woman's work.

The rubber trade on the Cururú is monopolized by the 434 mission and the government Indian post. The bulk of the 797 Mundurucú population on the Cururú River lives up- 648 stream from the mission, and since the Indian post is situated near the mouth of the river it is at a serious disadvantage in the competition between the two for the trade and, thereby, control of the Indians. The post lost influence also because of widespread dislike of the agent then in charge. Therefore, the mission today enjoys the greater [177] Indian patronage and has been the more important agency in the introduction of Western culture.

Both the Indian post and the mission trade with the In- [437] dians on the basis of the barter-credit system which prevails throughout the region. During the dry season, rubber is traded, and farinha is bought during the winter rains. The Indians make occasional visits to the two agen-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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cies, and the agents, in turn, make periodic trading trips up and down the Cururú in motor launches. These trips are more frequent in September, October, and November when rubber is still being collected and the river has begun to rise, making navigation easier. The spheres of mission and post influence intersect in the village of Morro, halfway between the two, and the villagers trade with either. Below Morro, the post controls the trade, although the Indians nearest the mouth of the river frequently deal with independent traders of the Tapajós. Above Morro, all Indians are customers of the mission. The trading trips which representatives of the two organizations make into the domains of each other are mutually considered to be intrusions of the regatão type.

A common occasion for trade at the mission is provided by the Christian holy days, which are always observed by a large number of Indians. Pressure is exerted by the priests to come to these gatherings and to attend Mass and receive the Sacraments, but to the Mundurucú these are times to deliver rubber, partake of the coffee and sweets provided by the nuns, hold dances, and get together with their widely scattered relatives and friends. In the latter respect Catholic rites help to fill one social function of the extinct intervillage ceremonials.

There is one important difference between the trade as conducted on the Cururú and by the Tapajós patrons among the campineiros. The patrons generally trade with chiefs and family heads, and, although individual accounts are kept, the fiction of collective dealing is partly maintained. Both the Indian post and the mission deal with persons only, however, and each is aware that he has a separate account of credits and debits and is an independent producer. Wives who tap rubber with their husbands, and young sons who similarly aid in the avenues of their

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439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, however, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool their production with that of their fathers.

182 The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually
361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can settle near his father-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule,
[591] but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to remain patrilocal or to seek a new residence altogether. In short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-extraction industry has in the lives of the people of the Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, release the young men of dependence on an extended family
[596] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements
[476] the previously described loss of coöperative patterns in
[594] the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhancement of the role of the nuclear family.

Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily en-
439 gaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In con-
461 trast to the four days per week and three months per year that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the average Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rubber collecting means that the Indian must return to the rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-

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lages and easy transportation is lacking. But on the Cu-439 461
rurú, even the man who has a separate dry-season resi-
dence has direct access to his village by canoe.

THE CURURÚ VILLAGE

The Mundurucú population of the Cururú River has for 162
several years maintained an average figure of 700. This in- 361
cludes 200 Indians with permanent residences at the mis-
sion and 70 to 80 who live at the Indian post. Part of these [221]
latter two groups spread out every summer to collect rub-
ber while the others work for the two agencies as garden-
ers, general workmen, fishermen, and crew members on
the launches. The post and mission Mundurucú settle-
ments are in no way autonomous villages, and all general
economic and political direction is provided by the Indian
agent and the priests.

The rest of the population is principally distributed in eleven settlements ranging in size from hamlets of two or three houses with populations of 20 to 25 people to the largest settlement, Missão Velha,[1] with eleven houses and 90 inhabitants. In addition there are many scattered dwellings along the banks which are the all-year residences of one or two nuclear families. In 1942 there were only about seven villages on the Cururú and practically no isolated dwellings, although the population then was substantially the same. The increase in number of villages and of families living in isolation is the result of a fission process in which segments of villages split away to form new communities. The Cururú River settlements are in this sense more unstable than the contemporary savannah communities. Thus, the average population of the five traditional savannah villages, excluding Parawaröktiká, which has no

[1] Old Mission. So named because it is near the site of the first mission, abandoned in 1921.

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tion in their short histories. The main reasons for their creation were the perpetuation of kinship ties and the desire for companionship and coöperation; all these bases of solidarity are now deteriorating. Finally, the Mundurucú social system is incompatible with heavy preoccupation with the rubber industry. The nature of this trade and the ecological conditions of rubber exploitation tend to produce an atomized and scattered society. The economic and, to a lesser extent, social integration of such a trade-oriented economy is provided by the market. The Mundurucú of the Cururú River are being drawn increasingly within the orbit of the Amazonian credit system. The traditional bases of integration are now gone, and social change can have no other direction.

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clan, phratry, and moiety. In this way, the social system accommodated increased numbers through fission and the multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Mundurucú society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, it has been hypothesized, set in motion a far-reaching series of modifications in Mundurucú social structure. The Mundurucú were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium on female labor, especially the coöperative and organized work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture "caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was to provide a fully coöperative and integrated work group in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say

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THE CHANGING SOCIAL SYSTEM

177 182 648 439 The problems of leadership and sorcery are not the only causes of contemporary breaking up of traditional Mundurucú society. Forces external to the society merit consideration. It was stated that the rubber industry caused no immediate ecological disruption, but this is true only as long as the Indian remains a marginal producer. His absorption into Amazonian economy and his obligations to the patron eventually increase to such an extent that the Indian cannot participate effectively in the native social system. His role as a member of a village and of an extended family becomes incompatible with the obligations of clientship because the latter demands a period of rubber production that overlaps the village horticultural cycle. When access to and dependence on trade goods grow, dependence on the individualized labor and personal holdings of the rubber avenue grow also. This, too, is incongruent with the coöperative labor and collective economy of the native social system. As the participation in the two social systems becomes increasingly incompatible, the fears and factionalism of village life cause the Mundurucú to move more completely into the patron-client relationship. The dilemma of role conflict and group tensions is resolved by withdrawal from village life and by the restructuring of their interpersonal relations in the looser framework of Amazonian society.

The Mundurucú are forced into their new mode of existence by several factors. Some of these are elements of the native heritage, such as the conflicting modes of residence and descent, chieftaincy, and sorcery. Others, as for example, trade relations and rubber production, originate from the outside. Social systems are not self-contained structures that respond only to their own needs; they are related to other social systems through networks of structured relationships. For this reason Mundurucú society can

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be understood only with reference to the well-defined social roles of the enemy and the trader, to name the two most important. The relations of the Mundurucú with their enemies were sudden and violent. Communication and, therefore, diffusion of the forms of culture were minimal due to the mode of interaction, but this by no means vitiates the importance of the hostile outer social world for an understanding of inner social processes.

The trader, on the other hand, is met under peaceful and mutually desired circumstances, and relations with him have different effects. In contrast to the enemy, he communicates knowledge of a different culture to the Mundurucú; his role in this regard was formerly mediated through the chiefs with whom he dealt but is now more potent, for he has face-to-face relations with a much broader segment of the population. This, however, has not been the most important concomitant of the trader role. It is rather to the trader as the purchaser of commodities and the purveyor of goods that attention must be turned, for it is through these activities that Mundurucú society has been most deeply changed and the populace become dependent upon outer sources for felt necessities. Economic autonomy, once lost, is rarely regained. As Mundurucú wants grow, their bond to the trader tightens at the expense of similar ties to kinsmen and co-residents. When the economic life of the individual Indian is confined to the traditional relation of patronage-clientship, he is effectively a caboclo. The trader, like the enemy, is regarded by the Mundurucú as given in the nature of things and beyond the control of the members of the society. Thus, while individual traders are often mistrusted and despised, the institutionalized obligations to the patron and the role itself are never questioned. But, in the final analysis, the patron is the surrogate of the Western economy, and his

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primary function is in mediating the dictates of the market to the Indians in a personalized and understandable idiom.

The external market cannot be taken as a constant factor in this study, for it is subject to the fluctuations and movements that characterize the history of capitalism. The returns that it offers are variable, and the inducement of the Indians to produce for it varies somewhat. But, more important, different commodities have been sought in the Amazon at different periods, and the form of labor that has gone into their production has accordingly changed. This has impinged not only on the division and organization of labor, but has altered fundamental residence rules, transformed the framework of every-day social relationships, and changed in size and constitution the basic groupings of the society. Munduruc\u00fa society underwent one such major modification in the transition from patrilocality to matrilocality. And it is now undergoing a second in the destruction of unilocal residence and the fragmentation of larger village and familial units. Murdock * is fully corroborated in his observation that social organizations are most easily modified through a modification of the rule of residence—as he is in so many of his comments on relevant factors in social change. The rule of residence, in turn, varies with the productive relations in the ecological adaptation. It is in this way that the form of social groups is conditioned by their functions as units of production and consumption.

The transformations of the Munduruc\u00fa social system can best be understood in terms of its structured relations with other social systems and the immediate means, technical and social, by which selected resources are exploited. That these factors have a broader relevance can be best

* *Ibid.*, pp. 201-202.

11: Murphy E-9 (1950-1955) 1961 SQ11 Munduruca SQ11

Like all people, the Munduruú are, to an extent, prestige-seekers, but there are cultural differences in the codings of status. The traditional culture placed no value upon material acquisitions, and, although this was slowly changing, Bikel's tastes were inordinate and clearly derived from his experience among the Brazilians. He thus violated a value standard and at the same time offended the entire community by self-consciously and openly trying to raise himself above his fellows.

Bikel not only misconstrued the ends of Munduruú prestige but he also misunderstood the means for their attainment. The primary rule, and the one he most flagrantly violated, was that one should not seek prestige but let it come to him naturally. For example, bravery in war was highly valued but the posture of bravado was ridiculed. A coward was relegated to the lowest end of the status scale, but one who boasted of the damage he intended to inflict upon the enemy in the coming battle was ridiculed and placed in the vanguard of the attack. To attain prestige a man should be modest and unassuming, while observing all the traditional expectations of what constitutes valued behavior. But primarily, he should act always as if he had only the collective well-being and goals in mind. Bikel's braggadocio, individualism, and competitiveness had violated every rule of the game, and he won only dislike and contempt, rather than the esteem and power he wanted so badly.

Disturbing though all this was to the delicate adjustment of Munduruú social structure and contrary though his behavior was to the values that bound this adjustment, Bikel had committed the cardinal error. He had allowed his grievances against certain individuals and groups to come out into the open and alignments emerged for and against him that cut across both village and clan-linked role commitments. Hostilities and latent factions are part of the tribal life of the Munduruú, but they are carefully repressed--a requisite for the functioning of Munduruú society. The average Munduruú is well-trained in disguising aggression and in presenting the bland face of neutrality, but Bikel's own socialization was in part derived from Brazilians and was not adjusted to the functional needs of the Indian society. Like any cuckold, he had some cause to feel aggrieved. His error was in openly objecting to the offense against him, a normal course for a Brazilian cuckold but not for a Munduruú victim.

IV

Bikel's alienation from Munduruú society induced severe anxiety and intensified his quest for a favorable identity. He sought this through his role of chief of the village of Cabitutu. The contemporary Munduruú chieftaincy must be understood as a boundary role. The dependency of the Indians on manufactured goods, obtained through the sale of wild rubber, has given the Brazilian traders a position of great influence among them, which they exercise through the chief. When the trader wants increased production he tells the chief, who then exhorts his followers to greater effort. Correspondingly, the chief acts as bargaining agent for the village in trade negotiations, and the people interpret his role to be in large part that of their representative to the outer world. If the trader is sufficiently well-established with a village, he can do much to influence the choice of a chief. But since he cannot completely counter the patrilineal rule of inheritance of

the chieftaincy, it is common practice to select one or two possible heirs and rear them in his household; this is what happened to Dibui. This is agreeable to the chief, for he gains the favor of the trader and, with it, preferential treatment in sales and purchases. It is clearly beneficial to the trader, as he hopes thereby to install a chief who will be responsive to his wishes, even at the expense of the Munduruku villagers.)

The contemporary Munduruku chief is in a dilemma. If we look upon a boundary role as one in which both ends have to be played against the middle, we see the chief caught between the interests of the trader and those of his followers; these interests rarely coincide. It is a difficult position, but one that can be maintained by maximal adherence to the traditional behavior expected of chiefs and minimal acquiescence to the demands of the traders. Dibui's father, Caetano, played a comparatively successful role. If the trader told him that the villagers were heavily in debt to him, Caetano would communicate this fact and suggest that it would be well to collect more rubber; he never attempted even verbal coercion. He also sincerely sought to obtain the maximum return for his people.

Caetano embodied many characteristics of the traditional chief. An older man, he carried himself with a modest and unassuming dignity. He guided, persuaded and cajoled, but he carefully refrained from ordering people, and all decisions of communal significance were made in consultation with the mature men of the village. Beyond this, Caetano knew Munduruku traditional knowledge and lore and attempted to perpetuate it.

Dibui's position was very different from that of his father, for he was the prototype of the Indian boy who had been "educated" by a trader and later installed as a chief. He had no legitimate claim to the position, and it was necessary for the trader to insist that he would recognize only Dibui in dealings with Cabitutu. The residents grudgingly assented, but they regarded him as chief only in trade relations. The most influential man of the village was, in reality, a renowned shaman who was the son of the last chief and was considered the legitimate heir to the office.

Dibui's precarious situation was made worse by the fact that he was under thirty years old and the junior of many men in the village. To complicate matters, he had no supporting group of kinsmen in Cabitutu. Matrilocality, I have said, is the normal mode of residence among the Munduruku, but the sons of chiefs generally remain with their fathers after marriage. From the point of view of conscious motivation, the sons of chiefs remain patrilocal because their fathers are influential enough to persuade men to relinquish their daughters to them as a means of solidifying relations with them. By the same line of reasoning, a young man who marries the daughter of a chief is willing to join a prestigeful father-in-law. But from the point of view of social structure, the function of the patrilocality of the chief's family is twofold. By keeping the sons, the chief is able to transmit authority to them without the discontinuity that would result if they were resident in the villages of their wives. Moreover, the chief is surrounded by a group of patrilineally related kin, a small and solidary patrilineage. His position is further enhanced by the fact that he has sons-in-law within the village. Much as this may reinforce his prestige, it does not enable him to exercise unilateral authority, for the rest of the

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*241 resettled on the Maué-assu River /Maués-Guassú ?/ and in the former
[195] mission of Vila Nova da Rainha in 1800 and 1803 respectively, he says that they "... showed little inclination to prepare gardens for manioc flour." (3)

3. Monteiro Baena, 1843: 283.

Later, Martius, in his more extensive report on the Mundurukú, does not mention qualitative cultivation but refers merely to the quantitative production of the gardens, i.e., he alludes to the large volume of manioc flour produced by the Tapajós Mundurukú, but /3/ he is not familiar with, or at least does not mention, the plant varieties they cultivate, although they undoubtedly raised more than
[649] the cotton and manioc roots he mentions. He attributes the quantitative development to the power and warring strength of the tribe, which thus protected its gardens against the attacks, thefts, and raids frequently carried out by other tribes, especially the Mura. Martius speaks as follows: "In the arts of agriculture, the Mundurucú merely appear to be ahead when compared with the others, while /actually/ the power of the populous and warlike tribe ... makes the gardens
[161] safer, and because the somewhat dense population can no longer de-
[248] pend exclusively on hunting and fishing. They plant a little cotton
[251] and a lot of manioc roots, the flour of which, packed in baskets and
[434] large palm leaves ..., they have been selling to the boatmen of the Tapajós ever since they established peaceful contact." (4)

4. Martius, 1867: 390: "In den Kuensten des Landbaus scheinen die Mundurukú nur insoweit Andern voranzustehen, als die Macht des zahlreichen und kriegerischen Stammes ... den Pflanzungen mehr Sicherheit verleiht, und die etwas gedraengtere Bevoelkerung nicht mehr bloss von Jagd und Fischerei abhaengig seyn kann. Sie bauen

/3 cont./

*241 etwas Baumwolle und viel Mandioca-Wurzel, deren Mehl, in Koerbe und breite Blaetter von Palmen ... verpackt, sie an die Schiffer im Tapajóz zu verhandeln pflegen, seitdem sie in friedlichen Verkehr getreten sind...."

114 (I should like to insert here the following question:
179 Did Martius have knowledge of traditions regarding a preagricultural era of the Mundurukú? It would seem so, for he writes in the above-quoted passage: "..., the somewhat dense population can no longer depend exclusively on hunting and fishing"; this might indicate knowledge of a previous stage of the Mundurukú as hunters and gatherers but not as agriculturalists.)

*241 Still more or less in the same period, we have the testimony of Bates who speaks of the Mundurukú as agriculturalists and good workmen in various parts of his book, though he does so rather offhandedly; he notes the fertility of the land and the relatively small effort required of the Indian to bring forth the necessities /4/ of life; he tells of the large gardens of the Mundurukú which he saw on the Cuparí River and of how the women make flour; he says that the [439] Mundurukú carry out a certain amount of flour trading with the traders [244] of the Tapajós, and finally he states that aside from bitter-manioc [249] roots they raise sweet manioc, sweet potatoes, and sugar cane. (5)

5. Bates, 1944, passim.

114 There are practically no twentieth-century sources on the Mundurukú. The Franciscan mission has not yet published its materials on these Indians, and the work of Robert Murphy, who also studied this tribe in 1952-53, aside from a few articles, has not reached us. Thus, our knowledge is based almost exclusively on the meager data of the above-mentioned authors. Only Gonçalves

/16 cont./

of sweet manioc, even though, in many respects, their agricultural system is quite similar to that of the Munduruků.

The first great influence of civilization unquestionably occurred during the nineteenth century, following the pacification of the Munduruků, when they settled on the margins of the Tapajós. Through this contact, nearly all the plants cultivated on the lower Amazon became known to the Munduruků and were, for the most part, adopted by them. The old mission of Bacabal must also have had some influence on this development. The new agricultural acquistions, as well as their handling and usage, spread rapidly along the Tapajós, but very slowly toward the interior and especially toward the grasslands of Mundurucânia. The knowledge and use of manioc flour exemplifies this process. In the old days, the Munduruků were not familiar with manioc flour and made only tapioca cakes. Nowadays, even in the villages of the interior, they all make flour. But, as I said, manioc flour is a relatively recent acquisition. My informant Tomé told me the following: "My grandmother told me, one day, that in her childhood, in the villages (of the interior), they did not know yet how to make flour. They only made tapioca cakes, which sometimes they even roasted on stone (slabs)...." This was at the most 80 years ago. The Munduruků of the Tapajós, on the other hand, being far more exposed to contact with civilization than the Munduruků of the central grasslands, were already quite familiar with manioc flour in those days and even prepared it for commercial purposes. Martius, Bates, and others, as we already indicated at the beginning of this work, speak of the important flour production and of the flour trading which the Munduruků of the Tapajós carried on with the traders of Santarém and of the lower Amazon. It seems obvious, therefore, that the spread of agricultural elements into the Tapajós region occurred /17/ at a rather uneven rate, and that in the case cited, in the villages of the interior, the making of manioc flour was acquired much later than in the villages of the Tapajós River. If this happened in connection with the more usage of a plant